

THE OLDEST MUSIC ROOM IN EUROPE

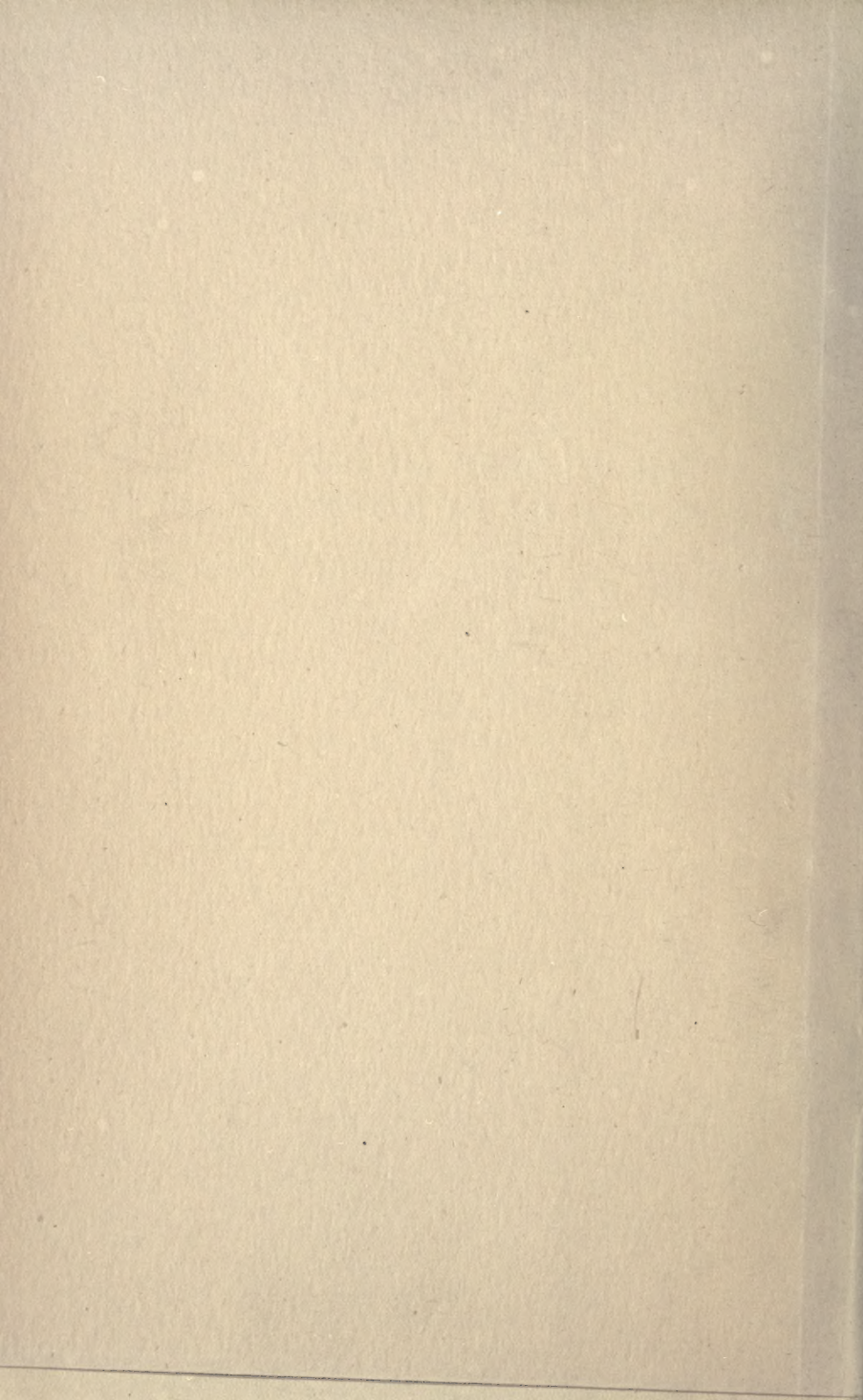
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THE OLDEST MUSIC
ROOM IN EUROPE





A SUNDAY CONCERT IN 1782

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THE OLDEST MUSIC ROOM IN EUROPE

A RECORD OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY

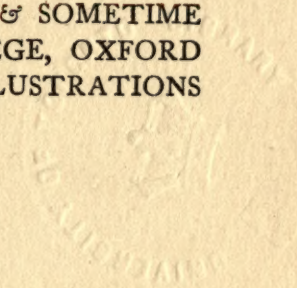
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By JOHN H. MEE, M.A., D.Mus.

PRECENTOR OF CHICHESTER & SOMETIME

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

TWENTY-SIX FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS



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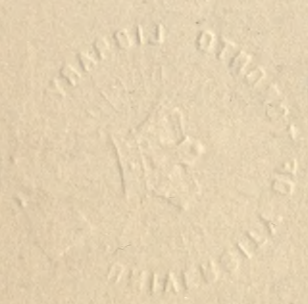
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PREFACE

No one who has ever attempted to compile an accurate account of past events will be surprised to find many errors of commission in this book, and no one who has experienced the toil involved in the perusal of a century and a half of newspapers will be surprised to find in it many errors of omission. That they are not more numerous is due to the kindness of many friends. In particular, I am indebted to the proprietors of Jackson's *Oxford Journal* for placing at my disposal the early files of their newspaper; to Mr. A. M. Broadley, of The Knapp, Bradpole, Bridport, for much kind help with the account of the Hayes family, and for enriching my pages with illustrations from his admirable collection of portraits; to Mr. Charles Wertheimer for permission to reproduce his magnificent portrait of Abel by Gainsborough; to Mr. John Lane for much similar assistance; to Mr. F. Madan, of B.N.C., Oxford, for

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constant advice and loans of books otherwise difficult to obtain ; and to Mrs. R. H. New, to whom has fallen the thankless task of correcting and verifying the proofs.

Mr. Lane desires me to say that he has been unable to trace any engraved portrait of Signora Davies, and that he will be glad to hear from any one who can direct him to the possessor of a miniature, painting, or engraving of her. It seems inconceivable to him that no portrait of her should exist.

J. H. M.

INTRODUCTION

IN the Middle Ages Oxford set much store by its "Act." This originally consisted of the final, but mostly formal, exercises for the degree of M.A. and of Dr. in the Faculties. It was held in S. Mary's Church and extended over three days, and apparently a great concourse of people assembled for it. Then the *Terræ Filii* were allowed to produce their jests, which, coarse and stupid as they appear to us now, amused the people of the day. And then the players were allowed to visit Oxford, and to perform in various places. Even the severity of academical ceremonies was relaxed, and amongst the disputations are to be found discussions on such subjects as, *e.g.* (1600) "What is the right way to tame a shrew?" And again, "Ought Aristotle to have included a wife among the goods of the philosopher?"

Gradually, as time went on, the Act became fixed on a certain date, *viz.* in Oxford, on the Monday after July 7th. This was done

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in 156 $\frac{5}{8}$.¹ In fact, the three days of the Act seem to have become a kind of annual academical holiday. And even the Puritans allowed at this time "dancing the rope, drolles, or monstrous sights to be seen."²

The University was not above using its degrees to increase the attractions of the Act. When John Wendon supplicated for the degree of Bachelor of Music on the 4th of May 1509, he was required to compose a mass to be sung at the following Act.³ Besides the regular Act it would appear that more or less private festivities of a similar character were celebrated on occasion. Thus, on May 24, 1660, Anthony Wood gives an account of an Act in which he took part.⁴ "There was a most excellent musick-lecture of the practick part in the public school of that facultie, where A. W. performed a part on the violin. There were also voices, and by the direction of Edward Low, organist of Ch. Church, who was then the Deputy Professor for Dr. Wilson, all things were carried very well, and gave great content to the most numerous auditory. This meeting was to con-

¹ "Register of the University of Oxford," vol. ii. Part I. (A. Clark), p. 82.

² Wood's "Life and Times" (A. Clark), vol. i. p. 299.

³ "Register of the University of Oxford," vol. i. (Boase), p. 65.

⁴ Wood's "Life and Times," vol. i. p. 316.

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gratulate his majestie's safe arrival to his kingdomes. The school was exceeding full, and the gallery at the end of the school was full of the female sex. After all was concluded, Mr. Low and some of the performers . . . retired to the Crowne Taverne, where they dranke a health to the king [and others]. Of the number of performers that were there present were Sylvanus Taylour [&c.], besides some masters of music."

The Restoration was naturally an epoch of great change. Not only was the Act practically reduced to a shadow of its former self, but even its meaning as a day from which standing in degrees was reckoned, which still survives in the word Commencement at Cambridge, went out of use. Not so the merry-making which had centred round it. This was much strengthened and confirmed by Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of the University, who immediately after the Restoration commenced, in 1664, the building of the Sheldonian Theatre, from the design of Sir Christopher Wren, at a cost of over £12,000.¹ This was opened in 1669 with great ceremony, above 2000 people being present.² An ode was composed

¹ Wood's "Life and Times," vol. ii. p. 14 ; vol. iv. p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 427.

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by Benjamin Rogers, D.Mus., for the occasion, and an organ borrowed from Worcester for its performance.¹ Shortly afterwards the Chancellor intimated that “he would have the continuance of the Encænna (so well performed last year) to be done this [year] and alwaies after.”² In practice, however, it seems only to have been kept in those years when an Act was celebrated. But provision was made for music whenever it was needed. Wood³ records, under the date of May 18, 1671, that “wee had vocall and instrumentall musick in our Theater to the new organ, set up there [at a] cost [of] 120 *li.*, made by . . . Smith, a Dutchman.” This was probably the celebrated “Father” Smith. In 1672 we learn that the music for the performance in the theatre was written by the famous Henry Aldrich, afterwards Dean of Christ Church,⁴ and about the same time we find in the Vice-Chancellor’s accounts (1672–3) an entry of a payment to “Mr. Lock (*i.e.* doubtless the well-known Matthew Lock) for composing the ode [at the Act].”⁵ In 1676 there seems to have been a specially great ceremony at which, “as many, if not more, as at the Great Act were present,” and similar

¹ Wood’s “Life and Times,” vol. ii. p. 165; vol. iv. p. 71.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 194.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 223.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 248.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 73.

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ceremonies probably took place on most important occasions, such as the Chancellor's visit in 1677, when between the speeches there was music, both vocal and instrumental, and we are told that "the organ played."¹ Similar rejoicings took place on the visit of the "Prince" of Hanover,² and that of the Duke and Duchess of York in 1683,³ and at the coronation of James II. in 1685.⁴ The chief regular ceremonies in these years seem to have taken place in 1675, when we find Aldrich again composing the music,⁵ and in 1693, when Aldrich was Vice-Chancellor.⁶ Apparently he was a very keen supporter of the Act, and there is no doubt that music in Oxford owed much to him in the latter years of the seventeenth century. At this point, however, there is a sad break in our information. The great antiquarian Wood, who was specially interested in the music of the place, died in 1695, and left no successor to take up his narrative. Aldrich, who might have succeeded him as a recorder of the events of the time, died fifteen years later in 1710. Deprived of this guide, we are very much in the dark as to

¹ Wood's "Life and Times," vol. ii. pp. 386-7.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 518.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 51-52 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 319.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 141.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 427.

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what happened in the reigns of Queen Anne and George I., and it is not till we come to the writings of Thomas Hearne, born 1678, died 1735, that we gain any more information. Shortly before Hearne's death the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Holmes, seems to have made up his mind to celebrate the Encænïa on a specially great scale in the year 1733. This is how Hearne records it¹:—

1733. July 5.—“One Handel, a foreigner (who, they say, was born at Hanover), being desired to come to Oxford, to perform in musick this Act, in which he hath great skill, is come down, the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Holmes) having requested him so to do, and, as an encouragement, to allow him the benefit of the Theater both before the Act begins and after it. Accordingly he hath published papers for a performance to-day, at 5s. a ticket. This performance began a little after 5 o'clock in the evening. This is an innovation. The players might be as well permitted to come and act. The Vice-Chancellor is much blamed for it. In this, however, he is to be commended, for reviving our Acts, which ought to be annual, which might easily be brought about, provided the statutes were strictly follow'd, and all such innovations (which exhaust gentlemen's pockets, and are incentives to lewdness) were hindered.”

July 6.—“The players being denied coming to Oxford by the Vice-Chancellor, and that very rightly, tho' they might as well have been here as Handell and (his lowsy crew) a great number of forreign fiders, they went to Abbington, and yesterday began to act there, at which were present many gownsmen from Oxford.”

¹ *Reliquiæ Hearnianæ*, 2nd ed., vol. iii. pp. 98-100.

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July 8.—“Half an hour after 5 o'clock, yesterday in the afternoon, was another performance, at 5s. a ticket, in the Theater by Mr. Handel for his own benefit, continuing till about 8 o'clock. N. B. His book (not worth 1d.) he sells for 1s.”

July 9.—This was Act Monday, and Hearne's entry under this date consists of an account of the meeting of the Inceptors in the East Chapel of S. Mary's. The next entry relating to Handel's visit is dated July 11th, and runs as follows :—

July 11.—“In the evening, half hour after five o'clock, yesterday, Handel and his Company perform'd again at the Theater, being the 3d time, at five shill. a ticket.”

July 12.—“Yesterday morning, from nine o'clock in the morning till eleven, Handel and his company perform'd their musick in Christ Church hall, at 3s. a ticket.

“In the evening of the same day, at half hour after 5, Handel and his crew perform'd again in the Theater at 5s. per ticket. This was the 4th time of his performing there.”

July 13.—“Last night, being the 12th, Handel and his company perform'd again in the Theater, being the fifth time of his performing there, at 5s. per ticket, Mr. Walter Powel (the superior beadle of divinity) singing, as he hath done all along with them.”

It would not appear that the quiet, studious Hearne was greatly enamoured of the festivities, but they seem all the same to have made a great stir, and to have been the cause of much enjoyment to a large number of visitors. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1733 re-

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ports that "Athaliah" was received at Oxford with great applause before an audience of 3700 people. Two curious pamphlets were produced on this occasion; one of them, "The Oxford Act, a new ballad-opera," printed for L. Gulliver, in London, 1733, complains bitterly of the expenses of the Act which, according to the writer, had reduced to beggary most residents in Oxford, and culminates in their emigration to the then new settlement of Georgia.¹ The other, called "The Oxford Act . . . in a letter to a friend in town," was a more serious account of the proceedings. From it we learn that the exercises of those taking their degrees were interspersed with music (pp. 6, 10, and 13). There was also a separate performance of instrumental music on July 7th in the theatre, directed by Richard Goodson, the Professor of Music. The performance, which is described as successful, took place at the inconvenient hour, to our way of thinking, of six o'clock in the morning. The day was ended by a performance of "Esther," as to which our author remarks (pp. 31, 32):—

¹ P. 42. Perhaps the most interesting thing in this "new ballad-opera" is that it contains (at p. 18) an obvious parody of the well-known ballad, "Sally in our Alley," then a song of the hour.

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"The Chevalier Handel very judiciously, forsooth, ordered out Tickets for his 'Esther' this Evening again.

"Some of the Company, that had found themselves but very scambingly entertained at our dry Disputations, took it into their Heads, to try how a little Fiddling would sit upon them. Such as cou'dn't attend before, squeezed in with as much Alacrity as others strove to get out; so that e're his Myrmidons cou'd gain their Posts, he found that he had little likelihood to be at such a Loss for a House, as once upon a time, Folks say, he was.

"However, in this Confusion, one of the good-natured Cantabs, cou'dn't help suggesting to him, that his only Way now wou'd be, to carry it off with an Air, and e'en be content with what he cou'dn't help.

"So that notwithstanding the barbarous and inhuman Combination of such a Parcel of unconscionable Chaps, he disposed, it seems, of most of his Tickets, and had, you may guess, a pretty mottley Appearance into the Bargain."

On Sunday, July 8th, we are told that Sieur Handel's "Te Deum," with instruments, was performed at the University Sermon, and an anthem afterwards. On Monday, July 9th, there appears to have been no music at all.

On July 10th, "The company in the Evening were entertained with a spick and span new Oratorio, called 'Athalia.'

"One of the Royal and Ample (? Members of Christ Church) had been saying, that truly, 'twas his Opinion, that the Theater was erected for other-guise Purposes, than to be prostituted to a Company of squeeking, bawling, out-landish Singsters, let the Agreement be what it wou'd.

"This morning, Wednesday, July the 11th, there was luckily enough for the Benefit of some of Handel's People,

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a Serenata in their Grand Hall. . . . In the Evening, 'Athalia' was served up again.

"But the next Night he concluded with his Oratorio of 'Deborah.'" ¹

It would also appear that the time-honoured buffoonery of the Terræ Filius's speech was suppressed on this occasion, at which most men were probably gratified, though it seems to have dissatisfied some people, ² and it was actually printed in London³ by L. Gulliver, in S. Paul's Churchyard. It is more to the present purpose to note that Dr. William Hayes seems to have been invited by the Warden of Merton to come to Oxford for this Act, ⁴ which begins his long connection with the place, so that in this respect, as in others, the celebration of the Act seems to be the origin of the remarkable development described in the following pages.

¹ "Oxford Act," pp. 44, 45, 47.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 and 24.

⁴ "Life of W. Hayes," by his son, P. Hayes, prefixed to W. Hayes' "Cathedral Music," which, however, gives the date of the visit as 1732.

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I

THE OXFORD MUSIC ROOM

THE Music Room, Oxford, is probably the oldest building of its kind in Europe. It was not till 1781 that the celebrated Gewandhaus concerts in Leipzig found a similar abode,¹ whereas the Oxford Music Room was opened in 1748. There may be concert rooms still existing in Europe of as early or even earlier date, but a careful search has failed to discover them. "Hickford's Great Room" (41 Brewer St., London, W.), built about 1737-8 by a dancing-master named Hickford, was often used for concert purposes in the eighteenth century, *e.g.* Mozart and his sister played there on May 13, 1765 (*Times*, London, Jan. 13, 1909; *Monthly Musical Record*, March 1, 1909). But there is no trace of any permanent staff of regular performers being

¹ *Festschrift zur hundertjährigen Jubelfeier der Einweihung des Concertsaales im Gewandhause zu Leipzig.* Von Alfred Dörrfel, Leipzig, 1884, p. 20.

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attached to it. Nor can it *a priori* be thought strange by a musician that the first building of this kind should be erected in England. On the Continent the musical interest of the early part of the eighteenth century was centred in opera, and concerts of instrumental and vocal music were usually given in the theatres that had been built primarily for dramatic purposes. But opera in England was a fashionable exotic, and concerts of instrumental and vocal music appealed more strongly to the musical feeling of the nation. During the fifteen years previous to the opening of the Oxford Music Room this tendency had been accentuated, for it was during these years that the genius of Handel had caused the oratorio to take the first place in the estimation of the English musical public. In modern times the word oratorio involves the notion of *sacred* music, and this was also its original meaning. But in the middle of the eighteenth century it was used to indicate what we call a cantata, though, as a matter of usage, the plot was generally drawn from some scriptural narrative. Nevertheless, the general feeling of the age on the matter is plainly shown by the description of the "Messiah" as "the sacred oratorio."¹ Indeed

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 14, 1767.

The Oxford Music Room

“the sacred oratorio,” without anything else, was considered a sufficient advertisement of it in 1762.¹ If the earliest programmes of the concerts given in the Music Room were extant it would be possible to speak more confidently with reference to the influence of the oratorio on the building of the Room. But the account of its origin drawn up in 1773, by Dr. William Hayes, Professor of Music, which will be given in full hereafter, seems distinctly to connect its foundation with the hold that oratorio had obtained on the ear of English musicians, though it must not be forgotten that concerts on a considerable scale had been an important feature of the Oxford Act for over half a century² before the building of the Music Room. But, whatever were the precise reasons which led to its being built, it seems quite clear, from the way in which people wrote about it, that it was an unusual thing, and a thing of which those connected with it were extremely proud.

For our knowledge of the circumstances connected with the erection of the Music Room we are indebted, as already stated, to Dr. William Hayes. This gentleman had an admirable opportunity of becoming thoroughly

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 20, 1762.

² Wood's "Life and Times" (A. Clark), vol. ii. pp. 165, 225.

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acquainted with all the facts of the matter. He was appointed organist of Magdalen College in 1734, and Professor of Music in 1742. The edition of Wood's "Antient and Present State of the City of Oxford," published by the Rev. Sir J. Peshall, Bart., in 1773, states that the account "of the Musick-Room and its Institution is the Effect of our ingenious and very worthy Professor Dr. *William Hayes*." The account, which appears at page 247 of the volume, is too interesting and curious to be abbreviated, and runs as follows: "In this Street (Holiwell) stands an elegant Stone Edifice, appropriated to Music, and therefore called the MUSIC-ROOM. Its Dimensions are 65 by 32, and 30 Feet high. The North End, being a Segment of a Circle, is occupied by the Performers. The Orchestre rises gradually from the Front, where the Singers stand, partly screened by a Balustrade. On the uppermost Stage, in the Center, stands an excellent Organ built by the late Mr. *John Byfield*; the Bequest of *William Freman*, Esq., of *Hamels*, in *Hertfordshire*.¹ Its Form has been considerably altered since it first arrived, according to a Drawing made and presented,

¹ Of Freman, whose portrait hangs in the hall at Magdalen, some account is given in H. A. Wilson's "Magdalen College" (1899), pp. 228, 229, and 274.



DR. WILLIAM HAYES, MUS. DOC., 1707-1777
From the engraving by Park after Cornish in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

The Oxford Music Room

by the Professor of Music, to the Rev. Dr. *Ralph Freman* for his Approbation ; who so generously assisted, and enhanced his late Brother's Benefaction, that he not only paid the Charge of *packing, carrying, and re-erecting* the Organ by the Maker thereof, but also by paying for the additional Ornaments and Improvements. These consist of a widening of the Basement, on which are fixed inverted Brackets, supporting the Body of the Organ, and are so contrived as, occasionally, to be let down to admit of the Sashes or Glass Doors being folded back ; and then to resume their Station and Figure.

“Above the Cornice, on a Plinth, is raised a Pannel containing an Inscription, supported by Trophies of Musical Instruments rising pyramidally, and finishing with an *Apollo's* Harp, drawn after an antique Form found in *Pine's Horace*.

“From the Orchestre, on each Side of the Room, run four Rows of Seats rising gradually from the Floor ; on the Left Hand they are continued till met by those on the same Side of the Entrance, to which they are connected by an easy Curve.

“Above these rise a considerable Number of others ; it having been found necessary to leave Height sufficient for a Passage under-

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neath. On the Right, from the Orchestre, it was not practicable to continue the Side-Seats, on Account of the Fire-Place; nevertheless in Summer, when no Fire is requisite, and the Chimney-Board fixed up, the vacant Space is supplied with three Rows of Seats which are connected on this Side of the Entrance as the former, and have the same Use and Appearance as if they had been originally continued.

“The Room is chiefly lighted by two very handsome Lustres of Cut Glass, for which we are indebted to the Ladies; who raised a Subscription of 66*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* for that Purpose. The elegant Stucco-Work in the Cieling, made to receive the Chains by which the Lustres are suspended, was the Performance and Benefaction of the late ingenious Messrs. *Roberts* and *Snetzler*.

“Here are weekly Performances of Vocal and Instrumental Music, every *Monday* evening, except in *Passion-Week*, all the Month of *September*, and the Quarterly Choral Performances; which are usually Oratorios; and these with very little foreign Assistance. Benefit Concerts are also here for such Performers to whom they are allowed. These formerly were in some College-Hall, which greatly incommoded the Society where it happened to be.

The Oxford Music Room

“The Front is plain, but elegant Architecture, and properly adapted to the South End of the Room, which is square. It was designed (as was the Whole) by the Rev. Dr. *Thomas Camplin*, sometime Vice-Principal of *St. Edmund-Hall*, now Archdeacon of *Taunton*.—It recedes from the Street about 38 Feet, before which is a spacious Court, guarded by a Pair of genteel Iron Gates in the Center, with Palisades on the Right and Left; the Donation of the Hon. *Robert Lee*.—Sir *John Shaw*, Bart., also gave a Pair of Iron Gates, out of which those at each End were made. Upon this Account the Crests of both are placed on the Piers of the central Gates. The Whole in a Line with the Street extends 81 Feet 6 Inches.

“This Building was begun upon the Strength of a Subscription, set on Foot about the Beginning of 1742, which soon accumulated to the amount of 490*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* of which 100*l.* was laid out in the Purchase of the Ground whereon it stands. Afterwards 120*l.* were raised by two Oratorios performed in *Christ-Church* Hall; this served only to pay off some of the Arrears due, and not sufficient to encourage a Prosecution of this Undertaking; So that for some Years the Building stood a mere useless Shell. But the instituting

The Oldest Music Room in Europe of a separate Society, for a monthly Performance of CHORAL MUSIC at the *King's Head*, gained new Credit, and induced both the Workmen and the Managers to proceed with Chearfulness; for such was the Success of this Scheme that by the Opening of the Room in *July* 1748 the Fund was increased to 176*l.* 13*s.* 3*d.*, to which the Profits of the Oratorios, performed at that Time added 106*l.* 1*s.* 5*d.*¹ But still some Arrears remained to be discharged, nor is it to be wondered at, for

¹ It is possible, even probable, that Handel's "Esther" was the first work to be performed in the Room. Mr. Madan possesses a book of the words, entitled, "Esther, an Oratorio *Set to Musick by Mr. Handel.* As performed at the Opening of the *New Music Room in Holywell, Oxford.*" The words present many variations from the published scores, though some of them appear in the appendix to the English Handel Society's edition. The Coronation Anthems, "My Heart is Inditing," and "Zadok the Priest" (to other words, "God is our Hope") were introduced. This sort of thing was common enough at the time, but it gives a little support to the vague tradition that Handel had played in the Music Room, which prevails in Wadham College, which is the owner of the property. The opening of the Music Room would almost certainly take place at about the date of the Act, which fell in 1748 on July 9th. Handel appears to have been at leisure then. He had finished "Solomon" on June 13th, and did not begin "Susanna" till July 11th (Rockstro's "Life of Handel," pp. 289, 290). It is quite possible that he spent the interval in bringing "Esther" into the form in which it appears in Mr. Madan's book of the words. Mr. T. W. Taphouse, a former owner of the book, seems to have attributed it to a performance in 1761. There was a performance of "Esther" in the Music Room on October 26, 1761, but this does not appear to have been the occasion on which the book of the words was printed.



THE MUSIC ROOM, OXFORD, 1901
From a photograph by Messrs. Hill & Saunders

The Oxford Music Room

the whole Cost amounted to 1263*l.* 10*s.* However, by the Year 1752 all was entirely liquidated.

“In 1754, the Alteration of the Seats took place; for they were originally upon a Level. Since then the Walls have been lined behind the Back Seats, and the Whole new coloured.”

It is obvious that this exact and circumstantial narrative was written by a man who was intimately acquainted with the facts of the matter, and was probably a leading spirit in the movement that led to the building of the Room. The description of the concerts as weekly, except in Passion Week and during September, is borne out, so far as can be judged, by the advertisements in Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, which, however, does not commence till April 5, 1753. Concerts for the benefit of performers were, at any rate, for a good many years, held on Thursdays, but this will be more conveniently discussed under the head of Programmes.

The Bodleian Library possesses an elevation and ground-plan of the building,¹ which is probably of the same date as its erection. There seems to have been originally a larger room on the western side of the main building

¹ Gough Prints, vol. xxvii. p. 95; the description is only *written*, but seems indubitably correct.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe

than there now is, unless, indeed, this was a part of the first design that was not actually carried out. It would also appear that the curious lobby and staircase, built in front of the lower part of the main building, are later additions. Otherwise the general appearance of the outside has not been materially altered. It is possible that the Gates and Palisades, presented by Sir John Shaw and the Hon. Robert Lee, are those which are still to be seen in Holywell, but the Crests have disappeared.

Dr. Hayes, it should be noticed, speaks of the site as having been *purchased*. This is probably an error. The property was part of the founder's original benefaction to Wadham College, to which it still belongs. Moreover, entries of rent or quit-rent occur in the accounts for 1805-1806 (*vide post*).

The interior has been altered more considerably. Until about 1894 a bank of seats stood at the south end of the Music Room, and this was probably the seats by the sides of the entrance mentioned by Dr. Hayes. The top rows still exist as a sort of gallery, and still have the "Passage underneath." The "Lustres of cut Glass" have disappeared in comparatively recent times. Mr. George Simms, in an account of the building printed in the *Proceedings of the Oxford*

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Architectural and Historical Society for 1889,¹ says that he himself "well remembered" them, but there seems to be some doubt as to whether this is strictly correct. (See page 176.) The "elegant Stucco-Work in the Cieling" seems also to have disappeared. There are indeed still some ornaments of the sort, but they hardly seem important enough to justify such special mention as that bestowed on those of Messrs. Roberts and Snetzler by Dr. Hayes. Roberts enjoyed great repute for his skill in this kind of work, if we may judge from the following obituary notice of him which appeared in Jackson's *Oxford Journal* for Feb. 23, 1771: "Yesterday Morning died, after a lingering Decay, aged 60, Mr. Thomas Roberts, an ingenious Fretwork Plaisterer of this Place; whose many capital Performances appear not only in the Publick Edifices and Colleges of this University, but in the Seats of the Nobility and Gentry in divers Parts of the Kingdom. A very striking (*sic*) Specimen of this eminent Artist's Abilities in a most magnificent Apartment at Heythorp (*sic*), the Seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, will remain a lasting Monument of his Taste in Design, as well as Elegance in Execution." But it is not unlikely that

¹ Pp. 208-209.

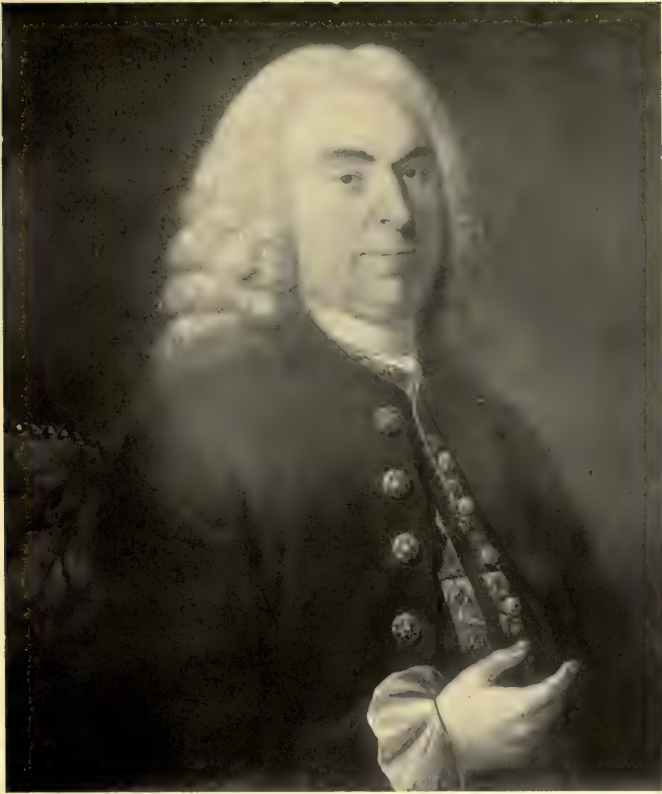
The Oldest Music Room in Europe

the real credit of this work belonged to Leonard Snetzler, who died April 8, 1772. He had been in Oxford for more than twenty years, and was "employed by the late and present Mr. Roberts."¹ The "present Mr. Roberts" was a son of the older man, and carried on the business in Gloucester Green in partnership with his cousin till they quarrelled. He seems to have been a somewhat disreputable character.² But though the lustres and (probably) the stucco work are gone, the magnificent oak floor remains almost wholly intact. It must have been made of splendidly seasoned wood, and the trees from which it was constructed were surely felled as long ago as the reign of Queen Anne.

The organ no longer exists, at least in Holywell Music Room, the instrument now there being by a modern organ-builder. It is uncertain when the old organ disappeared, but it was used as recently as the early years of the nineteenth century. Dr. Hayes' account of the improvements that he had devised is a perfect mystery, but it was probably a good instrument. Byfield (*i.e.* John Byfield, senior) was one of the best organ-builders of the eighteenth

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 11, 1772.

² See a curious apology by him in Jackson's *Oxford Journal* for Sept. 21, 1776.



BERNARD GATES

Presented to the Music School collection by T. S. Dupuis, D.Mus., from the picture attributed to John Russell, R.A.

The Oxford Music Room

century, and the programmes of the concerts record the performance of a "Concerto" for the organ as late as June 10, 1812. The Music Room was fortunate in getting it, as the interests of the donor, William Freman, were mainly centred in Magdalen College, which possesses a portrait of him hung in the hall.¹ He is generally said to have given an organ to Magdalen College Chapel. On this tradition Messrs. Bloxam and H. A. Wilson cast considerable doubt.² Yet the following passage in the "Pocket Companion for Oxford" (1759, pp. 26, 27), which is obviously written with an intimate knowledge, charmingly expressed, of the man and his doings, seems to suggest that the tradition may be right in the main after all. "An admirable picture of our Saviour bearing his Cross supposed to be painted by Guido, . . . was taken at *Vigo* and brought into *England* by the late Duke of *Ormond*. But afterwards falling into the Hands of *William Freman*, Esq., of *Hamels* in *Hertfordshire*, he gave it to the College. To this worthy Gentleman the College is likewise chiefly obliged for an excellent Organ, two addi-

¹ Gutch, "History and Antiquities," vol. i. p. 327.

² Bloxam, "Register of Magdalen College," vol. ii. pp. clxxii., clxxvi.

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tional Bells to the Peal of Eight, and another very considerable Benefaction. . . . Many Years successively, before we were so unfortunate as to lose him, he constantly spent a Month or two in the Summer here; during which Time he resided in the College, and conformed to an academical Life. By his last Will he bequeathed the Reversion of an Estate to the College, and an Organ, which then stood at *Hamels*, to the *Musick-Room* in *Oxford*, provided there should be no Instrument of that kind in it at the Time of his Death; otherwise to be erected in the Hall belonging to this College. But the former happening to be the Case, it accordingly went thither; for which the Public in general, as well as the Musical Society in particular, are obliged to him." Dr. Freman¹ died on Feb. 6, 1749 (O.S.), so that his care for the Music Room suggests that its full equipment was one of the popular enthusiasms of the day.

After this description of the foundation of the Music Room, the history of the concerts given in it demands attention. The materials available for this purpose vary very much in quantity and quality, but it is certain that the first forty years of these concerts—to be

¹ Created D.C.L. August 1747 (Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*, Clutterbuck's "Hertfordshire," vol. iii. p. 348).



DR. FREMAN
From the picture in the Hall of Magdalen College

The Oxford Music Room

precise, July 1748 to April 1789—form a definite epoch, and that this epoch was subdivided by some changes of importance made in March 1776. Up to that date the description of the concerts given by Dr. William Hayes seems fully corroborated. It is true that until 1754 very little information is forthcoming. But all the earliest announcements of concerts give Mondays as the days for which they are fixed, and the advertisement of the music at the Encænna in 1759 contained a reminder that, according to the articles of subscription, there would be no concert on Monday, July 2nd, thereby implying that this was an exception to the ordinary routine.¹ Moreover, the "New Oxford Guide" (1760), in giving a description of the installation of the Earl of Westmoreland in 1759, says²: "On (the following) Monday Evening, great Part of the Company still remaining in the Town, instead of the usual Weekly Concert at the Musick-Room, the Opera of 'Farnace' was performed in the Theatre." And an advertisement in Jackson's *Oxford Journal* for October 2, 1762, announces that "the Musical Performances are to begin on Monday next," and that "Athalia" is fixed upon for the Choral Night next Term.

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 22, 1759.

² Bodleian Library, Gough, Oxford, 17, p. 91.

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The "Quarterly Choral Performances" mentioned by Dr. Hayes would be more accurately described as taking place one in each of the four terms, and sometimes, at any rate, there were no regular concerts in August.¹ The first set of articles of subscription extant (1763) promise, in return for a guinea subscription, to give weekly concerts of vocal and instrumental music every Monday evening at 6.30, except during August and September, and to give an oratorio every term. The subscribers for this year, Lady Day, 1763, to Lady Day, 1764, had the opportunity of hearing "Judas Maccabæus" on May 9, 1763, the "Hymn of Adam and Eve," "Daphne and Amaryllis," and "music by Pergolesi, Jomelli, Galuppi, Handel, and other celebrated Masters," on June 13, 1763, "Belshazzar" on November 7, 1763, and the "Messiah" on March 19, 1764. The Music Room was reopened after the Long Vacation on October 10. Throughout the forty years the subscription concerts seem to have been presented invariably on Mondays, except when the last Monday in January happened to fall on January 30th, the anniversary of King Charles' martyrdom.² It also seems

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 26, 1763.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1764; a similar announcement occurs on Jan. 22, 1763, and Jan. 29, 1774.

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to have been usual, after 1775, to alter the day of the concert in the week of the annual race meeting.¹ In 1780 and 1782 a postponement took place in the week of the Encænia,² and this was the regular practice in this week, when the Music Room was used for rehearsal on the Monday evening. In 1775 the weekly concert was on Tuesday, December 26, for obvious reasons;³ in 1786 it was postponed from November 20 to November 21 to suit Mrs. Billington, who was engaged in London on the 20th;⁴ and in 1787, "many of the Performers having obtained Leave to assist at Westminster Abbey," where a Handel festival was in progress, there were no concerts on May 28 and June 4, and a concert on June 7 (Thursday) instead.⁵ Such exceptions as these only serve to prove the rule. Briefly, all our available information concerning the concerts bears out Dr. Hayes' account in almost every particular. There is no reason to doubt that his account is equally applicable to the first six years in the history of the Music Room (July 1748-1754.)

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Aug. 10, 1776; July 19, 1777; July 17, 1779; July 15, 1780; July 14, 1781; July 19, 1783; July 24, 1784; July 29, 1786.

² *Ibid.*, July 1, 1780; June 29, 1782.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 23, 1775.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1786.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 26, 1787.

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The following list of the oratorios performed in the Music Room between February 1754 and April 1789 is probably very nearly, if not quite, complete, though there is a gap in our authorities, Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, from June 7, 1760, to May 2, 1761, having been lost. In compiling it no account has been taken of the oratorios, usually two or even three in number, that were in most years performed in the Sheldonian Theatre at the Commemoration. But it must not be forgotten that these performances, which appear to have assumed the character of a musical festival,¹ were organised by the stewards of the Music Room, and that their orchestra and singers formed the nucleus of the band and chorus on these occasions.² The weekly concert was usually suspended to allow of the rehearsals being held in the Music Room.³ These circumstances seem to support the conjecture, already hazarded, that the origin of the Music Room must be attributed to the musical performances at Commemoration; but, in dealing with the history of the concerts held in the Music Room, there is small necessity

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 24, 1773; July 16, 1774; April 29, 1775, "Oxford Annual Music"; June 21, 1783, "Our ensuing Music meeting"; June 21, 1788.

² *Ibid.*, June 27, 1772; June 5, 1773; June 18, 1785.

³ *Ibid.*, July 2, 1774; June 8, 1782.

The Oxford Music Room

to reckon them. Where no composer's name is given in the following list, it is to be assumed that the work in question is by Handel. The dates given are those on which the various works were performed.

Acis and Galatea.—May 13, 1754; June 23, 1755; May 24, 1756; Feb. 21, 1757; Nov. 28, 1757; June 12, 1758; Oct. 29, 1759; July 1, 1762; May 6, 1765; April 21, 1766; July 2, 1767; June 23, 1769; Nov. 18, 1771; May 10, 1773; June 13, 1782.

Alexander's Feast (or *Dryden's Ode*¹).—June 30, 1755; Nov. 24, 1755; Oct. 25, 1756; March 14, 1757; Oct. 31, 1757; March 19, 1759; June 15, 1761; May 9, 1768; May 1, 1769; May 25, 1772; Nov. 16, 1772; June 21, 1779; July 2, 1783.

Anthem (Burney).—May 14, 1770.

Athaliah.—May 5, 1755; July 3, 1760; Nov. 8, 1762; June 22, 1769; May 22, 1775.

Belshazzar.—Nov. 7, 1763.

Choice of Hercules.—May 16, 1757; Oct. 31, 1757; July 1, 1766; May 9, 1768.

Daphne (or *Daphnis*) and *Amaryllis* ().—
June 13, 1763; July 3, 1764; Nov. 20, 1769; Nov. 21, 1774; June 18, 1781.

Deborah.—May 18, 1767.

Dettingen Te Deum.—Nov. 24, 1755; March 22, 1756; Oct. 25, 1756; Feb. 14, 1763.

Esther.—May 20, 1754; Feb. 2, 1756; Dec. 6, 1756; July 7, 1757; Oct. 26, 1761; Nov. 24, 1766; April 29, 1771.

¹ "Dryden's Ode for St. Cecilia's Day," commonly called "Alexander's Feast" (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 23, 1772).

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Hymn of Adam and Eve (Galliard and B. Cooke).—June 13, 1763.

Israel in Egypt.—(First Act) Nov. 24, 1760.

Jephtha.—May 9, 1774.

Joshua.—July 2, 1766; Nov. 14, 1768; Nov. 29, 1773.

Judas Maccabæus.—March 17, 1755; July 2, 1755; April 25, 1757 (Parts I. and II.); May 16, 1757 (Part III.); March 27, 1758; April 28, 1760; July 3, 1761; May 9, 1763; July 1, 1765; July 5, 1768; July 2, 1770; March 20, 1787.

L'Allegro et Il Penseroso.—Feb. 25, 1754; Feb. 24, 1755; Aug. 4, 1755; Aug. 1, 1757; Oct. 30, 1758; Dec. 10, 1759; July 2, 1761 ("Il Moderato" also); July 2, 1764; Nov. 23, 1767; Nov. 19, 1770; Nov. 27, 1775; July 2, 1778; June 22, 1784.

Menalcas (Harris).¹—July 1, 1766.

Messiah.—Once a year at least, from 1754 to 1759 (in 1755 the second and third parts only), and every Lent from 1763 to 1789, both inclusive, except apparently 1769, 1781, and 1787. A selection from it was also given on Tuesday, Dec. 26, 1775, to which day the weekly concert was postponed.²

Milton's Hymn (Harris).—Nov. 16, 1772.

Samson.—March 1, 1756 (Parts I. and II.); March 22, 1756 (Part III.); July 2, 1760; May 17, 1762; July 1, 1767.

Saul (Selection-Epinicion and Last Act).—June 27, 1757; May 30, 1785 (Selections).

Solomon (Boyce).—June 7, 1763; Dec. 17, 1764.³

¹ Mr. Joseph Harris, of Birmingham (Jackson's *Journal*, March 20, 1773), was admitted B.Mus., March 23, 1773 (*Ibid.*, March 27, 1773).

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 23, 1775.

³ The terms for admittance were the same as on a common night, which seems to show this was an exceptional performance.



THE MUSIC ROOM, OXFORD, 1901, FROM THE SOUTH
From a photograph by Hills & Saunders





Abel

Puntó

Fischer

craton p.

CONCERTO SPIRITUALE.

Publwd 23^d March 1775.

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Stabat Mater (Pergolesi).—Feb. 14, 1763; Dec. 14, 1767;
May 14, 1770.

Stabat Mater (Baron D'Astorga).—Nov. 24, 1760.

Te Deum and Jubilate (Harris).—July 6, 1768; July 3,
1770.

CORONATION ANTHEMS

My Heart is Inditing.—April 26, 1756; Dec. 6, 1756;
Oct. 25, 1762.

The King shall Rejoice.—April 26, 1756; May 28, 1759.

Zadok the Priest.—Dec. 6, 1756; May 28, 1759; July 2,
1761; Oct. 25, 1762; July 2, 1778; June 22, 1784.

The preponderance of Handel's music in this list will surprise no one who is familiar with the history of English music in the eighteenth century, or who recalls the similar vogue of Wagner in London at the end of the nineteenth. His secular music was the most popular. "Acis" appears fifteen times, "L'Allegro" thirteen times, and "Alexander's Feast" thirteen times, though against this must be set the annual performance of "Messiah, or the Sacred Oratorio."¹ The solitary appearance of "Israel in Egypt" in the list, and the fact that only half of it was sung even then, will cause little surprise, and "Solomon" may have been left out owing to its double choruses. But it might perhaps have been expected that a place would have been found for "Theodora" and

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 14, 1767.

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“Semele.”¹ We may deduce that in 1776 the desire for oratorio had lessened, for a distinct change was made in the character of the programmes. The articles of subscription for this year² propose that in future the “Messiah” shall be performed “as usual” in Lent Term, that there shall be an oratorio in Act Term, and in Easter and Michaelmas Terms a Grand Miscellaneous Concert instead of an oratorio. For these last it was proposed that “One capital Vocal Performer and one capital Instrumental Performer” should be engaged.

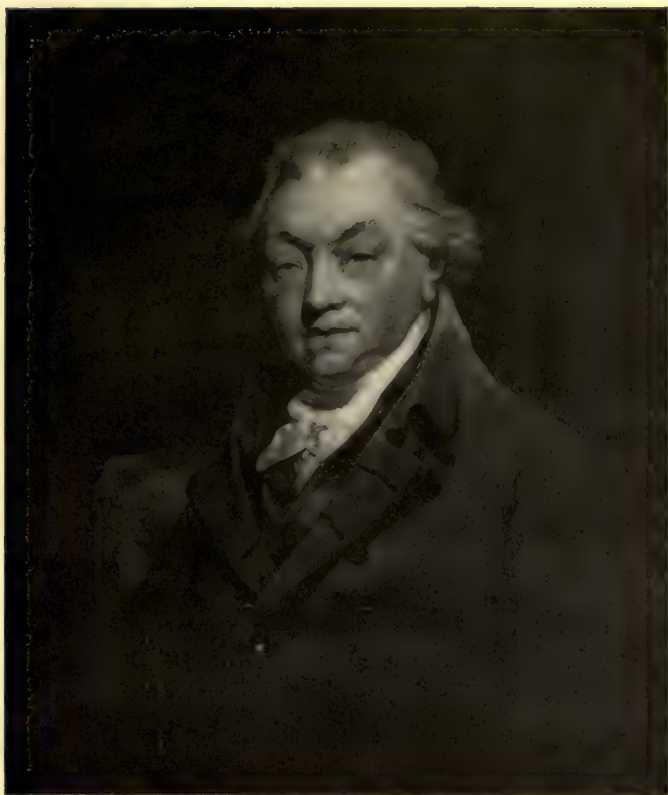
It is a little difficult to see why this change was made. Both before and after this date excellent performers from without were very frequently engaged for the ordinary Monday concerts. The forty years we are now considering, between 1748 and 1789, present nearly twenty names that are not yet forgotten, besides a number of others of whom little is now known. The earliest notices of such performers are those of Pinto, the first violin at the Opera, at a Benefit Concert, on Nov. 9, 1758;³ Hellendaal, the violinist, of whom more presently;⁴ and Miller, a bassoon player,

¹ “Theodora,” however, though the author’s favourite work, never became popular. Schœlcher’s “Life of Handel,” pp. 315 and 316.

² Jackson’s *Oxford Journal*, March 16, 1776.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1758.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1759.



W. Owen, R. A., pinxt.

J. E. SALOMON
From the Collection of Mr. John Lane

H. Dawson, sculpt.

The Oxford Music Room

Nov. 22, 1760. Later on came Edward Jones, the celebrated harpist, to whom we owe the preservation of so many Welsh melodies; Evans and Bromley, also harpists;¹ and Chretien Hochbrucker, nephew of the inventor of the pedal harp, who had made harp-playing the fashionable accomplishment of Paris.² Amongst the singers are to be found such names as Miss Barsanti, Miss Linley,³ who, by the way, made almost her only appearance in public, after her marriage with Sheridan, in Oxford at the Commemoration of 1773,⁴ and her younger sister, scarcely inferior as a singer, Miss M. Linley,⁵ Mrs. Barthelemon,⁶ and Signora Davies, "Inglesina," daughter of a relative of Benjamin Franklin, and the first Englishwoman who was accepted as a *prima donna* in the opera houses of Italy.⁷ Among the instrumental players we find that Crosdill, the greatest violoncellist of his day and the teacher of George IV., who ultimately married an heiress and died a Yorkshire squire, played a great number of times,

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 23, 1762; Jan. 22, 1763; May 19, 1770; March 28, 1778; Dec. 1, 1782.

² *Ibid.*, May 6, 1780.

³ *Ibid.*, June 24, 1769; May 12, June 19, and Nov. 17, 1770.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 29, June 19, July 3, 1773.

⁵ *Ibid.*, March 16, April 27, Nov. 16, 1771; July 17, 1773.

⁶ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1773.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1775.

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beginning from 1768.¹ The same may be said of Fischer, the greatest oboist of his age, and composer of the minuet that took Europe by storm and was embalmed by Mozart in a famous set of variations, who played first on Nov. 18, 1771;² of W. Cramer, the celebrated violinist, whose name appears first on April 26, 1773;³ and of Salomon, the friend of Haydn, who played first on Nov. 19, 1781. Amongst those whose names only occur once or twice are the flautist Florio (*père*); La Motte, the violinist, with that great execution in octaves that he first introduced into England (1777);⁴ Raimondi, also a violinist (1787);⁵ and Paxton, the violoncellist, brother of the composer.⁶ When we add that the Belgian violinist, D. P. Pieltan, also played once (1785),⁷ that "Lydel" (*i.e.* Andreas Lidl, one of the baryton players in Haydn's orchestra at Esterhaz) played in 1776, and that even the fashionable craze for the musical glasses was gratified,⁸ it would seem abundantly clear that the

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 27, 1769.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1771.

³ *Ibid.*, April 17, 1773.

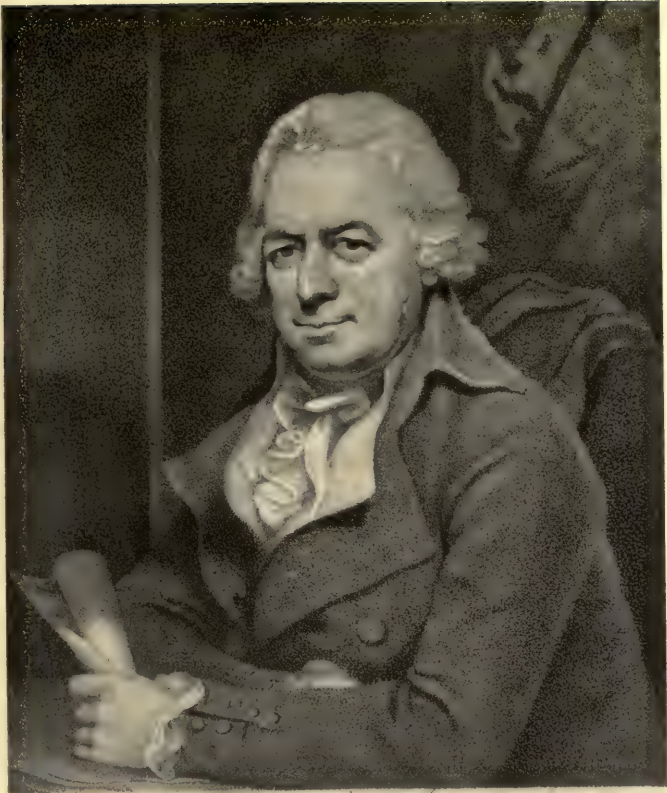
⁴ *Ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1777. A concerto by La Motte was played by Pinto in Oxford on Nov. 26, 1805 (Oxford Concert Bills).

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1787.

⁶ *Ibid.*, July 19, 1783.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1785.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1776; July 9, 1785



T. Hardy, pinxit et fecit

From the Collection of Mr. John Lane

The Oxford Music Room

subscribers had no reason to complain of want of enterprise on the part of the stewards.

Perhaps the introduction of the Grand Miscellaneous Concerts is to be connected with the declining health of Dr. William Hayes, who never thoroughly recovered from a fit which seized him nearly three years before his death on July 27, 1777,¹ and the rise to influence of his second son, Philip Hayes. The latter appeared at the Music Room for the first time, so far as our information goes, on March 14, 1776,² but may not have been settled in Oxford till six or eight months later.³ However this may be, the management certainly exerted themselves to secure the "capital vocal and instrumental performer" that they had promised. At the first of these concerts, May 20, 1776, they engaged La Motte, who fell ill and was unable to keep his engagement, whereupon they "sent by express" for Cramer

¹ "Life of William Hayes" prefixed to a volume of anthems entitled "Cathedral Music," edited by P. Hayes; see also *Dictionary of National Biography*.

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 9, 1776.

³ Richard Church, whom he succeeded, according to Grove, at New College, was organist at Christ Church and St. Peter's-in-the-East for upwards of fifty years, and died July 20, 1776 (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 27, 1776).

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to take his place ;¹ Abel, the friend of Gainsborough, who painted him twice, and, what is more to the present purpose, the finest performer on the *viol da gamba* that ever lived ;² and Signora Sales, the touring *prima donna* of the day, and principal singer at the celebrated concerts managed by J. C. Bach and Abel.³ The standard thus set was steadily maintained. Amongst the great singers who appeared in the course of the next twelve years are Signora Pozzi,⁴ Signora Sestini,⁵ "the very celebrated Madame Le Brun,"⁶ Miss Abrams,⁷ Miss Cantelo (Mrs. Harrison),⁸ Miss Phillips (Mrs. Crouch),⁹ and Miss Theodosia Abrams.¹⁰ More famous still were, and are, Madame Mara, the first great German singer,¹¹ and Mrs. Billington,¹² who enjoyed a very considerable popularity.¹³ The stewards also engaged on several occa-

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 18, 1776.

² "There is one God and one Abel."

³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 11, 1776.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1777, and May 23, 1778.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1781 ; June 8, 1782.

⁶ *Ibid.*, April 27, 1782.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1782.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1783 ; March 18, 1786.

⁹ *Ibid.*, April 30, 1785 ; May 28, 1785 ; May 12, 1787.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, April 5, 1788.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 19, 1784.

¹² *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1786 ; June 9, 1787 ; Nov. 8, 1788.

¹³ *Ibid.*, June 9 and 23, 1787. Miss Weischel (? Weichsel, the maiden name of Mrs. Billington) sang at the Commemoration concerts of 1783 (*Ibid.*, June 21 and 28, 1783).



KARL FRIEDRICH ABEL
From the painting by Gainsborough in the possession of Charles Wertheimer, Esq.

The Oxford Music Room

sions Tenducci, one of the last of the great sopranists, and at that time the idol of fashionable London;¹ Salomon, the violinist, whose name will be always associated with that of Haydn;² and the violoncello-player, Cervetto (the younger).³ Seeing that no account is taken in the foregoing list of the "Oxford Annual Music,"⁴ or three days' musical festival in the Sheldonian Theatre at the Commemoration, it is clear that these gentlemen must have had a good deal of occupation for their spare time. It is also manifest that they did their work remarkably well. Time after time they are to be found recognising the merits of singers and of players before the world at large had perceived them. Engagements were given to Signora Pozzi at the age of nineteen, to Crosdill at the age of eighteen, to Miss Linley at the age of sixteen. The merits of Signora Sestini seem to have been recognised in Oxford (if there is no misprint in the date of 1783 given by Grove) before they were perceived in London. Lidl could not have arrived in this country long before his performances in Oxford, Salomon had only been in England some six months when he was brought down to Oxford, and

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 10, 1781. ² *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1781.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 23, 1782.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1774.

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Cramer's first performance in Oxford is scarcely more than a month later than his first performance in London. In short, every piece of evidence available points to the conclusion that the stewards were a body of very capable musicians with an excellent capacity for business.

The Commemoration Concerts in the Sheldonian Theatre, though managed by the stewards of the Music Room, must be regarded as outside the scope of the present discussion. But soon after the changes made in 1776, possibly in consequence of them, the Commemoration Concerts were, more often than not, held in the Music Room. This was the case in 1778, 1779, 1780, 1782(?), 1783, 1784, and 1787. The character of these concerts varied a good deal. In 1779, 1780, and 1782, nothing was attempted beyond altering the date of the ordinary concert to suit the visitors.¹ In 1778 two concerts were given without much external aid.² In 1783 two concerts were again given with several London performers, including Miss Weichel,³ Cramer, and Paxton. The next year two concerts were advertised,

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 1, 1780; June 29, 1782.

² *Ibid.*, June 27, 1778.

³ *Ibid.*, June 21 and 28, 1783. Miss Weichel is probably a misprint for Miss Weichsel, afterwards Mrs. Billington.



W. Lawrauson, pinx.

SIGNORA SESTINI
From the Collection of Mr. John Lane

J. Jones, sculpt.

The Oxford Music Room

but, if the reporter is to be trusted, three were actually given.¹ Madame Mara sang, and Salomon and Crosdill played. "Choruses by performers from London assisted by the Gentlemen of the Oxford Choirs." "Every Precaution" was "taken to make the room as cool as possible." And the result, according to the newspapers, was that "the Performers far excelled what we have ever remembered at this place." Three years later (1787), no fewer than three concerts were given with the aid of Mrs. Billington and Cramer. The proceedings were so successful that they elicited the first newspaper *critique*.² This states: "Last Night arrived here the Billington, accompanied by her Spouse and Cramer. Harrison too was there, but not officially—So much the worse." Mrs. Billington had a most enthusiastic reception, and "the Selection of the Musick did great Credit to the Taste of the ingenious Professor." The report of the second concert, however, ends with the remark, "great was the Judgment with which the Musick was selected, and did Honour to the Steward of the Night." We may infer from this that the stewards drew up the programmes of the weekly concerts in turn, and

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 19 and 26, 1784.

² *Ibid.*, June 23, 1787.

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this surmise is corroborated by some later programmes, now in the writer's possession, which are endorsed respectively "Stewards of 23 Oct. 1797," "N. 400. Stewards of 20th Nov. 1797," "No. 750. Stewards of 14th Febr. 1815."

Moreover, it must not be forgotten that all the concerts that have been hitherto discussed were of the nature of exceptional entertainments, and that the most difficult work of the stewards was the maintenance of the weekly concerts. For this they employed a permanent orchestra, engaging performers to fill vacancies as they occurred, sometimes after holding a competition, and requiring the successful candidate to settle in Oxford.¹ For instance, on Nov. 5 and 12, 1768, an advertisement appeared in the *Oxford Journal* from Mr. Monro, violoncello player, in which he states that he "has been appointed by the University to succeed Mr. Orthmann," and again, on February 24, 1781, an advertisement appeared in the same newspaper stating that "Hardy, a Pupil of Mr. Pinto and other Masters, having been engaged by the Gentlemen of the Musical Society as a Resident Violin Player in their Band, humbly acquaints the Gentlemen of the University that he teaches on

¹ Crotch's "Malchair," p. 51 (Bodl. Libr., MS. Music d. 32).



J. Brussett, pinxt.

TENDUCCI
From the Collection of Mr. John Lane

J. Finlayson, sculpt.

The Oxford Music Room

that Instrument.” Our first full information as to the size and composition of the band comes from the French *Guide d'Oxford* published in 1789 by Philippe Jung. Jung was in subsequent years, and probably at this time, himself a member of the band, so that his statements may be accepted with complete confidence. According to him, the orchestra consisted of six violins, two violas (*basses de viole*), one 'cello, one double bass, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns (one of whom was also an excellent flute-player), and two singers, of whom Norris, “the finest tenor-singer in the kingdom,” was one. The other was probably Matthews, who was engaged as a soloist at the Handel Festival in Westminster Abbey in 1784.

The direction of the orchestra during the whole period that we are now considering was in the hands of the Professor of Music for the time being. It is also likely that during some years there was a harpsichordist—at least that seems to have been the position of Miss Reynolds from 1772 to 1779, and perhaps for a longer period.¹ The orchestra may be thought very inadequate by those who are only familiar with the vast bands of our own day, but it was probably as large as most

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 31, 1772; Dec. 4, 1773; Nov. 5, 1774; March 9, 1776; Nov. 14, 1778; Feb. 6, 1779.

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orchestras of that period. Bach had much the same resources, and the same is probably true of Haydn at Esterhaz, and of Mozart in his early days. But no musician would be surprised to find that a small orchestra, playing together every week in a room of suitable dimensions, could produce a most excellent effect, and this appears to have been actually the case (*vide post*). The chorus available would be considered, in these days, very inadequate. The Bodleian Library possesses a full score of "Saul,"¹ in the binding of which is written, "July 1771, purchased for the use of the Musical Society in Oxford, together with 'Hercules,' by Thos. Bever, LL.D., Coll: Omn: Anim: Soc. Price of both Oratorios, Scores and Parts, £19. 9s. od." In the list of solo parts given at the beginning of this volume, the words, "N.B. —Unisons in the Choruses," are written against each class of voice. The only real *chorus* parts were, in fact, the treble parts. What probably happened on ordinary occasions was that the choruses were sung by all the soloists, the soprano part being reinforced by choristers from the College Choirs.² Towards the latter part of the period under discussion a feeling

¹ MS. Music, b. 13.

² See Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 24, 1756; Jan. 14, 1792.



Engraved by J. Goussier

N^o 1787

A Solo on the Viola da Gamba
M^r Abel

Printed at the ... by C. Harding 1782 Fleet Street July 1782

Reproduced through the kindness of Mr. G. F. Hill

The Oxford Music Room

had arisen that this was insufficient. The advertisement of a performance of the "Messiah," on March 15, 1777, states that the "Choruses are intended to be particularly full," and that "Two trumpets are also engaged from London." A similar advertisement in the *Oxford Journal* of March 13, 1779, announces "the Chorusses by several good Voices in Oxford assisted by Messrs. Barrow, Randal, and Real from London." Once more, on the corresponding occasion in 1783, we find the announcement, "The Instrumental parts by the Oxford Band with the addition of Trumpets from London, The Choruses by the Gentlemen of the Oxford Choirs, assisted by Messrs. Barrow, Randal, and Real from London." Even when thus enlarged the number of performers seems to us rather exiguous; but it must be remembered that the singers, if few, were all professional singers, that the *ensemble* of the band was probably excellent, and that the acoustical qualities of the Music Room are unsurpassable. The effectiveness of these oratorio performances is strikingly brought out in the following extract from the charming and piquant diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys: "1787, June 2nd. . . . Went to the Music at the Abbey. . . . The performance that day 'Israel in Egypt.' The

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chorus certainly very noble ; but I own, upon the whole, I am disappointed in the *sound*, tho' not the *sight*. Certainly the *coup d'œil* is beyond imagination, taking at one view the Royal family, so numerous a company, and the orchestra ; but for music, I must say I've been entertained as *well* at the music-room in Oxford, where there is not one pillar to deaden the sound, and a less space than Westminster Abbey for the vocal performers to show the compass of their voices."¹ The exact meaning of the last clause may not be obvious, but it was clearly intended to show that in the opinion of the writer, a clever observer, the chorus at Westminster Abbey was not so effective as the chorus at the Music Room. Yet the performers at the Abbey on this occasion numbered 800, and that the performance was considered satisfactory may be inferred from the curious remark of the *Gentleman's Magazine* that "her Majesty was said to have been so much enraptured as to join in the chorusses."² The orchestra stood in less need of reinforcement than the choruses, but it is worthy of notice that its main defect—clarionets—was frequently supplied by outside

¹ Passages from the "Diaries of Mrs. Philip Lybbe Powys," p. 227.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1787, p. 545, under Saturday, June 2.



MRS. BILLINGTON

From the engraving by Cardon after Sir J. Reynolds in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

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help. A Clarionet Concerto was introduced into a benefit programme as early as 1772,¹ and similar announcements are fairly common in the next few years.² The earliest ordinary programme but one that has been preserved (Feb. 21, 1774) contains a "Symphony with Clarionets—Gossec." It was then only eleven years since the clarionet had been introduced into the orchestra, and only twenty years after the composition of the first symphony. It will be seen presently that this early use of clarionets may have been connected with the fact that William Mahon was a resident in Oxford.

But perhaps the best way of realising the remarkable achievements of these stewards of the Music Room, who by combination did in England what it required a prince to effect in Germany, will be to examine some of the old programmes. For a quarter of a century we have nothing in the way of material, but after that it became not unusual to advertise the programmes of benefit concerts. This fashion was set by Monro, the 'cello player,³ and he continued to advertise his benefit performances more regularly than the other *béné-*

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 31, 1772.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1773; Nov. 11, 1775; March 9, 1776, &c.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1773; Nov. 5, 1774; Nov. 11, 1775.

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ficiaires.¹ To him we are indebted for the
 earliest programme now to be found. This
 runs as follows—the date is Nov. 11, 1773 :—

ACT I.

OVERTURE—Occasional	Handel.
SONG—Mr. Norris, "Padre Sposa"	Piccini.
QUARTETTO—6th, Op. 7th	Haydn.
SONG—Miss Reynolds	Sacchini.
ORGAN CONCERTO	Dr. Hayes.

ACT II.

OVERTURE	Norris.
SONG—Miss Reynolds, Accompanied by Clarionets, "Not unto us"	Arne.
SONATA—Harpichord, by a young Lady, who never appeared in public.	
TRIO—Voices, "The Flocks shall leave the Mountains"	Handel.
CONCERTO—Clarinet, Mr. Mahon ²	

Truly an up-to-date programme. It has, indeed, two Handel pieces, but it has also two pieces for the novel clarinet. If it includes songs by Piccini, the reigning *maestro*, and by Arne, the popular English composer of the day, it also includes a song by Sacchini, whose fame was scarcely made, and who had

¹ Miss Mahon was the first to follow his example. Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 9, 1776.

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 6, 1773.



Thomas Arne Bar. Mus.

John Taylor, pinxt. et fecit

ORGANIST AT CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD
From the Collection of Mr. John Lane

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only arrived in London the year before. So the Overture to Martini's (Schwartzendorf) "Henry IV.," which was only produced in Paris in 1774, was played in Oxford five years after.¹ Most striking of all it is to find in it a Haydn quartett, for it was not then twenty years ago that Haydn had composed his first string quartett, or perhaps it should be said that the first string quartett was written by Haydn.

The two earliest programmes of the ordinary concerts that have been preserved are only a few weeks later.² They run as follows :—

(A) MUSICK ROOM, Dec. 6, 1773

ACT I.

OVERTURE	Norris.
SONG—Mr. Mathews, "Soon shall that state" .	Piccini.
TRIO	Scwindl.
SONG—Mr. Norris, "Love in her Eyes sits playing"	Handel.
SYMPHONY, 6th	Ricciotti.

ACT II.

OVERTURE—"Saul," with the Dead March .	Handel.
SONG—Mr. Norris, "Pallido il Sole"	Hasse.
CONCERTO 12th	Corelli.

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 20, 1779.

² Bodleian Library, Gough, Oxford, 90.

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DUET—Messrs. Norris and Mathews, "When Myra sings"	Purcel.
SYMPHONY	Richter.

(B) MUSICK ROOM, Feb. 21, 1774

ACT I.

OVERTURE—New	Misliwececk.
SONG—Mr. Mathews, "Cease your tragic Measures"	Bach.
TRIO	Stamitz.
SONG—Mr. Norris, "Donec ponam"	Leo.
SYMPHONY	Holtzbaur.

ACT II.

OVERTURE—New	Ditters.
SONG—Mr. Mathews, "Whilst with lonesome Steps"	Iömelli (<i>sic</i>).
QUARTETTO	Toeschi.
SONG—Mr. Norris, "Eja Mater"	Pergolesi.
SYMPHONY, with Clarionets	Gossec.

These excellent programmes are, not un- naturally, marked by less novelty than the programme of a benefit concert. The staple of them consists of the classic composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Piccini, Handel, Hasse, Corelli, Purcell, Richter (F. X.), Holzbauer, Jomelli, Pergolesi, Gossec. But the Dutch composer Schwindl, the Bohemian composer Mysliweczek, and the

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Viennese composer Ditters, could hardly have been more than "coming men" in 1773-4, at any rate in England. It seems likely that Stamitz and Toeschi mean the younger musicians who bore these names, and, in that case, the same remark will apply to them. The Bach mentioned is almost unquestionably Johann Christian, "the English" Bach, then in the height of his prosperity in London. It would appear that Norris and Matthews were the two singers on the establishment at this time. The air of Hasse included in the programme of Dec. 6, 1773, is one of the two songs by that composer that were sung by Farinelli every night for ten years to Philip V. of Spain, in the hope of dissipating the melancholy into which that unfortunate monarch had fallen. The other programmes of this period that have been preserved are all of them drawn up on the same lines, and the only thing to notice with regard to them is that Haydn's name appears for the second time in the programme for November 16, 1775, when an overture of his composition opened the concert.

"Benefit Concerts are also here for such Performers to whom they are allowed," says Dr. Hayes in his account of the Music Room. It seems a fair inference from this statement

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that any one who was allowed a benefit concert was a member of the regular staff. During the earlier part of this period (1754-1773), so far as our information is concerned, the stewards seem only to have granted the privilege of benefit concerts, with three exceptions, to the first violin and the 'cello.¹ The regular custom seems to have been to allow two such concerts to the leader in each year and one to the 'cellist, and this rule, with very slight aberrations, was maintained up to the end of the period under consideration (1748-1789). The "Annual Concert"² of the 'cello player was almost invariably in November. The exceptions are, December 2, 1756, February 16, 1760, December 1, 1763, and December 6, 1764. Monro got in an extra benefit on August 29, 1771, and on April 17, 1788. In 1785, "The Reverend the Vice Chancellor and the Stewards of the Music Room . . . kindly consented to give Mr. Monro a Second

¹ The exceptions are William Walond, an Oxford organist who took the degree of B.Mus. from Christ Church on July 5, 1757, and was probably (see proposals for publishing his setting of Pope's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," Jackson's *Journal*, August 20, 1757) allowed to have a performance of his exercise for his benefit on February 15, 1758; the widow of Joseph Jackson, leader of the orchestra from 1754-1759 (Jackson's *Journal*, Nov. 24, 1759), and Mrs. Mahon, of whom more hereafter. Walond appears to have had another benefit on June 7, 1763, when "Solomon, a Serenata" was performed.

² So Monro calls it. Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 19, 1785.

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Benefit, in Consideration of the Deficiency of his Annual Concert.”¹ But there is no evidence that he had a benefit concert in either 1786 or 1787. Joseph Jackson and Malchair, the leaders of the orchestra, had, as already noticed, two benefits in each year, beginning from 1755. The only exceptions, exceptions which probably only mean defects in our comprehension, are in 1764, when no such concert at all is mentioned, 1768, 1769, 1776, 1780, and 1786, when only one is announced in each year. One of these concerts was always in February or March.

From 1757 to 1776 the other was usually given during the week of the races, which were held, as a rule, in August, and were then a flourishing social gathering. They appear to have brought in a considerable sum of money, though the tickets were only 2s. 6d. each.² “As my Support in *Oxford* depends in a great measure upon the Success of my Concerts,” says Mr. Joseph Jackson in the *Oxford Journal* of May 1st, 1756, “the Profits of which have been, at several Times, very inconsiderable; I am therefore indulged the Privilege of intreating my Friends for their Favour at this Time, for which I shall

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 19, 1785.

² *Ibid.*, March 1, 1755.

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be extremely oblig'd, and am Their most obedient humble Servant, Joseph Jackson." After 1776, the second benefit concert was always held in June. It has already been observed that considerable changes in the management of the concerts date from 1776, and it seems likely that the stewards could no longer afford to allow the profits of a concert in the race week to go to any individual performer. Thenceforward they usually altered the date of the weekly concert to the second day of the races, though, in 1778 and 1785, they allowed Miss Mahon to have a benefit during this week. It would be interesting to know the whole facts with reference to the benefit concerts of 1771, when, as already noticed, Monro, the violoncello-player, managed to secure two benefits. In the *Oxford Journal* of June 29, 1771, Malchair, the leader, announced that his benefit concert would take place on July 5. This was the Friday in the week of the Encænia, and, on the Wednesday and Thursday previous, oratorios had been given in the Theatre for the Radcliffe Infirmary and in commemoration of Founders and Benefactors of the University. His advertisement adds: "N.B.—Mr. Malchair being disappointed of his usual Concert at the Races by the Coincidence of Hereford Music Meeting, at which all the

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principal Performers are engaged, humbly hopes that his Friends will excuse his inability to provide for their Entertainment at that Time, and will indulge him with their Favours on this Occasion." In the same newspaper of August 24th, 1771, appears another advertisement, which states that Mr. Monro's benefit would take place on August 29, the second day of the races. There seems to be more in this than meets the eye. The only other performer who received anything like regular benefits was the singer, Miss Mahon, who appears to have been a considerable attraction: "N.B.—Miss Mahon is engaged by the Stewards for the ensuing year."¹ She was allowed nine or ten concerts between 1776 and 1787.² Mr. Walond,³ Mrs. Mahon,⁴ Jackson, an excellent performer on the horn and flute,⁵ Miss Reynolds,⁶ Miss George,⁷ and Mr. Norris,⁸ were each allowed one at various times.

The system on which the Music Room was managed, and the rules of the organisation that controlled it, are set forth in a

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 4, 1780.

² On March 14, 1776; July 22, 1778; April 29, 1779; April 27, 1780; March 14, 1782; Dec. 3, 1783; Nov. 18, 1784; July 20, 1785; Dec. 8, 1785; and April 27, 1787.

³ June 7, 1763.

⁴ Dec. 9, 1773.

⁵ April 6, 1775.

⁶ Feb. 11, 1779.

⁷ April 10, 1783.

⁸ March 10, 1785.

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very scarce document. In all likelihood the only copy extant belongs to the present writer. Its date is unfortunately very doubtful. The staple of the rules that are contained in it were made in 1757, but it is obvious, from notes farther on, that this edition of them was printed some years later. No date at all is given on the imprint, but the Catalogue of Music belonging to the Society, which is printed at the end of it, shows that it must have been issued later than 1771, as "Saul" appears amongst the books of the Society (see p. 32). The constitution of the Society is not so definite as could be wished, but it seems clear that there was a semi-official connection with the University, and that the managers consisted of a limited oligarchy.

II

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE MUSIC ROOM

By an Order, dated June 16, 1757, all former Rules and Orders were repealed, and the following were proposed, and unanimously agreed upon, for the Government of the Musical Society for the future.

I. *Committee.*—That the Committee shall consist of twenty Members at least, one to be chosen out of each College.

II. But if in any College a proper Person cannot be found, the Turn of that College shall be supplied out of some Hall, or out of any other College, from which there are not two Members already chosen.

III. That the Person to be chosen shall be Fellow, Scholar, Exhibitioner, or Chaplain of some College, a Vice-Principal of an Hall, or one who bears some public Office in the University.

IV. That he shall be a Graduate, or at least four full Years standing.

V. That when the Place of any Member shall become vacant, the Steward shall declare it at the next Meeting following, and shall pro-

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pose another of the same College, who, if agreed upon, shall be admitted at the next Meeting following that in which he was proposed.

VI. That if the Member, whose Place is become vacant, is of a College of which there is one Member still remaining, his Place shall be filled from that College whose Turn was before left unsupplied ; and if a proper Person cannot there be found, it shall be supplied according to the Rule of the second Article. If he is of an Hall, the Turn shall be dropt, unless the Number of Members remaining be less than Twenty.

VII. Every Member before his Admission shall read (or hear read) all these Orders, and shall subscribe his Name to them, in Testimony of his Assent and Approbation.

VIII. Every Person so admitted shall continue a Member of the Musical Society, so long as he keeps Possession of his Fellowship, Scholarship, Exhibition, Chaplainship, Office of Vice-Principal in a Hall, or public Office in the University.

IX. That any Member, after he has quitted his Fellowship, Scholarship, &c., shall nevertheless keep his Place in the Society, as long as he shall reside in the University.

X. Every Person upon quitting his Fellowship, Scholarship, &c., or who otherwise in-

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tends leaving the Society, shall signify his Intention to the Steward, in writing, who shall declare it at the next ordinary Meeting, and his Vacancy shall be supplied according to the foregoing Rules.

XI. If any Member, who is usually resident, shall neglect to attend at the Meetings, for the Space of one whole Year, and at the Expiration thereof shall not send to the Steward the Reason of his Absence, his Place in the Society shall be declared vacant.

XII. On the Admission of any new Member the Steward shall immediately enter his Name, together with his Degree (if any), and the College or Hall to which he belongs, in a Book provided for that Purpose, to which the Steward, and at least two of the Members present, shall subscribe their own Names, in Evidence of such Admission; and till such Entry is made, no one shall be reputed a lawful Member.

XIII. When any Member's Place becomes vacant by Resignation, Non-attendance, or by any other Cause; the Steward shall likewise enter such Cause of Vacancy, and it shall be signed as in the foregoing Article.

XIV. *Performances.*—There shall be a Concert, either Choral or Instrumental, every Monday throughout the Year (the Monday

The Oldest Music Room in Europe in Passion Week only excepted¹), according to Articles published before every Lady Day, on the opening of the Annual Subscription.

XV. The Music for the Instrumental Concert shall be appointed by the Steward; but the Choral Concert shall be agreed upon at the Ordinary Meeting.

XVI. It shall begin precisely at Seven o'Clock,² by which Time all Gentlemen Performers are desired to attend, but if any of those Performers who receive Pay, shall be negligent in observing that Time, they shall be punished at the Discretion of the Steward, by a Mulct not exceeding *One Shilling*, for each Offence.

XVII. *Of Meetings and the Business to be there transacted.*—A Steward's Meeting shall be held on the first Monday in every Month, at three o'Clock in the Afternoon, at the Music-Room.

XVIII. Every Member in Town, if duly summoned, shall be present at the said Meetings, unless prevented by Sickness, or any other reasonable Impediment.

XIX. The Steward may call an extraordinary Meeting on any Emergency, and

¹ By later Articles the Months of August and September are likewise excepted.

² Now Half-an-Hour after Six.

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shall be obliged so to do, at the Request of two or more Members, and every Member on receiving Notice shall attend, as at an ordinary Meeting.

XX. The Resolutions of the Majority, who are present at any Meeting, shall be considered as the Act of the whole, and be obligatory on all; and in Case of an Equality, the Steward shall be allowed a casting Vote.

XXI. All Orders and Resolutions made at the said Meeting, shall be entered in the Register, and signed by the Steward, and all the Members present; and nothing shall be of Force till so entered.

XXII. *Of the Steward.*—Every Member shall succeed to the Stewardship in Rotation, according to the Seniority of his Admission.

XXIII. No Person shall continue Steward above one Month, unless some evident Necessity shall require it.

XXIV. If the Steward be absent on any Concert Night, he shall appoint any other Member to transact the Business of that Evening in his Stead.

XXV. *Publick Accounts and Money.*—The Steward (or his Deputy) shall receive all Money, and be accountable for it to the Society, at the next ordinary Meeting.

XXVI. The Steward for the Time being,

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shall not pay any Bills or Demands upon the Society, nor subscribe to any Books to be published, nor lay out any of the public Money (except for the current Expences of the Concert Nights), without an Order from a Meeting.

XXVII. The Steward shall have the Power to order any Manuscript Musick, that has never been printed, to be transcribed for the Use of the Society, notwithstanding the foregoing Article.

XXVIII. At each ordinary Meeting the Steward shall deliver up all his Books, Accounts, Bills, Receipts, Money, Keys, &c., to his Successor, who shall give a Receipt for the same in the Steward's Book, to be witnessed by all the Members present.

XXIX. *Of Performers.* — The Steward shall have the Liberty of introducing, *gratis*, any Person or Persons, whether Scholars or Strangers, who shall perform a Part in the Concert; he may also give a general Leave of Admission to any Scholar who is willing generally to perform a Part in the Concert.

XXX. The Steward shall not hire any Stranger as a Performer, or engage any such in the Service of the Society, without the Consent of a Meeting, called for that Purpose.

XXXI. All Performers who receive Pay

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from the Society, shall attend at all Concerts in their own Persons, and when absent, shall forfeit their Pay for that Evening; and if they are negligent in their Attendance, or continue absent for two Evenings successively, without giving Notice to the Steward, they shall, upon Complaint against them at an ordinary Meeting, be discharged from all future Service of the Society.

XXXII. All Performers who receive Pay are expected to attend at all Rehearsals.

XXXIII. All such Performers who receive Pay, shall obey the Steward's Commands in playing every Piece of Music that shall be appointed, to the best of their Power; and if any one refuse to submit to any lawful Orders, he shall be punished by a Mulct, not exceeding *One Shilling*, at the Discretion of the Steward.

XXXIV. No Performers who receive Pay, shall play in any Benefit Concert within the Precincts of the University, but such as are allowed by the Vice-Chancellor and the Society. But upon any extraordinary Case, the Steward shall have a discretionary Power of granting Leave to such Performers to play in any Concert, of which Case the Steward shall be judge.

XXXV. No Benefit Concerts shall be allowed to any Strangers in the Music-Room;

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nor to any of the Performers belonging to the Society, but upon extraordinary Occasions, to be approved of at a Meeting, consisting of Ten Members at least; except only to those who are entitled to them by Virtue of a previous Agreement.

XXXVI. *Servants*.—All Porters, and other Servants, shall be appointed by an ordinary Meeting, and if they neglect their Duty, they shall be punished by a Mulct not exceeding *One Shilling*, at the Discretion of the Steward; and if they continue negligent, shall be discharged by a Meeting.

XXXVII. *Of the Goods, Books, and Instruments*.—No Furniture of the Music-Room shall be carried out of it without the Order of the Steward, and that only for Repairs; if necessary to be changed, sold, or lent, the Consent of a Meeting shall be obtained.

XXXVIII. No Books or Instruments shall be lent to any Person out of the Music-Room, without the Leave of the Steward, or the Professor of Music (if a Member of the Committee); and every Person who borrows any Book or Instrument, shall sign a Receipt for it in a Book kept by the Closet Keeper, and shall likewise return it by, or before, the Concert Evening following, and if it be lost by him, he shall forfeit the full Value.

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XXXIX. No Person shall use the Room, Books, or Instruments, for any Concert, public or private, without the Leave of the Society at a Meeting.

XL. There shall be a general Visitation of all the Books, Instruments, and other Furniture of the Music-Room, at every Quarterly Meeting; at which the last Steward and his Successor shall attend, and if any Books, &c., shall be missing, the Closet Keeper, or other Persons to whose Care they were committed, shall be answerable for them.

XLI. An Extract of those Orders that relate to the Performers who receive Pay, and to the Servants of the Society, shall be fairly transcribed, and hung up in the Steward's Room, that none may plead Ignorance thereof.

III

THE MUSIC BELONGING TO THE SOCIETY

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

A

- Abel's Overtures, 2 Setts, 8 Parts, with Hautboys and
French Horns.
Abel's Trios. Violins.
Abel's 6 Harpsichord Lessons, with an Accompaniment for
a Violin.
Alcock's Concertos. 7 Parts.
Alberti's 10 Concertos.
Albinoni's Solos. Violin.
,, Concertos, with Hautboys.
Abaco's Quartettos.
Avison's 6 Concertos.
,, 8 Concertos.
Arne's Overtures. 8 Parts, with French Horns, Hautboys,
or German Flutes.
Arne's Overtures to Eliza, Thomas and Sally, Alfred, Judith
and Artaxerxes, with Horns.

B

- Bates's 6 Concertos. 10 Parts, with Hautboys, French Horns,
and Trumpets.
Barsanti's Concertos. 7 Parts.

Music belonging to the Society

Bassani's Trios, M.S. Violins.

Boyce's 8 Symphonies or Overtures, with Hautboys or German Flutes, French Horns, and Trumpets.

C

Castrucci's 12 Concertos. 7 Parts.

Cervetto's Trios. Violins or Violoncellos.

Chilcot's 6 Harpsichord Sonatas.

Carbonelli's Solos. Violin.

Ciampi's 6 Concertos. 6 Parts.

„ Overtures. 9 Parts, with Hautboys and French Horns.

„ 6 German Flute or Hautboy Concertos. Opera 3rd.

„ Ditto. Opera 4th.

„ 6 Harpsichord or Organ Concertos.

Corelli's 12 Concertos. 7 Parts.

„ Trios. Violins.

„ Solos, made into Concertos by Geminiani.

„ 6 Sonatas, made into Concertos by Geminiani.

D

Defesch, 8 Concertos. Two of them with German Flutes.

F

Felton's Organ Concertos.

Festing's 8 Concertos. 7 Parts.

Festing's 12 Concertos. Four of them with German Flutes.

Finger's Trios. For different Instruments.

G

Geminiani's Concertos. 8 Parts. Opera 7th.

„ „ 7 Parts. Opera 2nd and 3rd.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe

Geminiani's Solos. Violin.

- „ ditto, made into Concertos by himself.
- „ 12 Concertos, made out of Corelli's 12 Solos.
- „ 6 Concertos, made out of Corelli's Sonatas.
- „ Select Harmony. 7 Parts.

Galuppi } 6 Overtures from Operas, with Hautboys and Horns.
 Porpora }
 Galuppi }
 Jomelli } 6 Overtures, with Horns.
 Martini }

H

Handel's Overtures

- „ Ariadne
- „ Ptolemy
- „ Richard 1st, Pastor Fido 2nd.
- „ Samson
- „ Occasional Overture } with Horns and Drums.
- „ Judas Maccabæus }
- „ Deidamia, with Drums.
- „ 6 Concertos, old. 7 Parts, with Hautboys.
- „ 12 Grand Concertos. 7 Parts.
- „ 6 Organ Concertos, 2 Setts, with Hautboys.
- „ 2 Organ Concertos. 7 Parts, with Hautboys.
- „ Water Music. 7 Parts, with Hautboys and Horns.
- „ 7 Trios. Violins or Flutes.

Handel }
 Tartini } 6 Concertos. 7 Parts.
 Veracini }

Haffe's Concertos for German Flutes. 6 Parts.

Hasse's 6 Concertos, with Hautboys and Horns.

Hebden's Concertos. 7 Parts.

Humphries's 12 Concertos, with German Flutes, Hautboys,
 Trumpets, and Kettle Drums.

Music belonging to the Society

Hasse }
Martini } 6 Concertos. 8 Parts, with Hautboys and Horns.
Hautboy Concertos, by different Authors, 7 vol.

J

Jomelli's Trios. German Flutes.
Jomelli }
Martini } 6 Overtures. Horns.
Galuppi }

K

Lord Kelly's Overtures. 8 Parts, with Hautboys and Horns.
Keller's Sonatas, for Common Flutes and Trumpets.

L

Locatelli's 12 Concertos. 8 Parts.

M

Martini's 8 Overtures.
„ 6 Grand Concertos.
„ 6 Concertos. 7 Parts.
„ 4 Organ Concertos.
„ 1 Organ Concerto.
Martini }
Haffe } 6 Concertos. 8 Parts, with Hautboys and Horns.
Martini }
Jomelli } 6 Overtures, with Horns.
Galuppi }
Mudge's 6 Concertos. One of them for the Harpsichord or
Organ.
Mudge's Medley Concerto, with Horns.

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N

Nowel's Trios. Violins.
Nussen's Trios. Violins.

P

Porpora } 6 Overtures. Hautboys and Horns.
Galuppi }
Pasquali's 12 Overtures, some with Trumpets, French Horns,
and Kettle Drums.
Powell's Symphonies. 5 Books.
Purcell's Airs. 2 Setts. One printed, one MS.

R

Ricciotti's 6 Concertos.
Richter's 6 Overtures, with Hautboys and Horns.
Richter's Trios. Violins.
Richter's Harpsichord Lessons, with an Accompaniment for
a Violin.

S

Scarlatti's 12 Concertos. 7 Parts, by Avison.
Stanley's 6 Concertos. 7 Parts.
,, 2 Organ Concertos.
,, Overture to Zimri.
Smith's Overtures to the Fairies, Tempest, Paradise Lost,
Rebecca, and Enchanter.
Stamitz's Trios. Violins.

T

Tessarini's 22 Introductions (or Overtures) for 2 Violins, a
Tenor, and a Bass.
Tibaldi's Trios. Violins.

Music belonging to the Society

Tartini }
Veracini } 6 Concertos. 7 Parts.
Handel }

V

Vivaldi's 12 Concertos.
,, Select Harmony. 6 Parts.
,, Extravaganzas.
Valentini's Concertos. 8 Parts.
Venturini's Concertos.
Veracini }
Tartini } 6 Concertos. 7 Parts.
Handel }

W

Walond's Overture to Pope's Ode.

Z

Zannetti's Quintettos. 3 Violins, 2 Basses.
Zahnetti's Trios. Violins.
Ziani's Trios. Violins, M.S.

VOCAL MUSIC

A

Admetus.
Alexander's Feast: Parts.
Alexander in Persia.
Alexander Balus.
Astartus.

Arminius.
Atalanta.
Alcina. 2 Setts.
Ariodante.
Ariadne.
Ætius.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe

Artaxerxes and Adriano.

Athaliah. Parts and 2 Scores.

Angelica and Medoro.

Acis and Galatea. Score and Parts.

Allegro, II Penseroso, &c. Parts.

Adam and Eve.

Alfred.

Alexis, a Cantata.

Arne's Cantatas.

Alcock's Anthem, "All Creatures breathing." Parts only.

B

Berenice.

Bononcini's Cantatas.

„ Funeral Anthem. Score and Parts.

Belshazzar. Score and Parts.

Baron d'Astorga[s] Stabat Mater. Parts only.

C

Camilla.

Coriolanus.

Calypso.

Croft's Act Music.

Comus.

Carey's Songs.

Choice of Hercules. Score and Parts.

Clark's Songs.

D

Demetrius. 2 Setts.

Twelve Duets.

Deidamia.

Dryden's Ode.

Diana and Endymion.

Deborah. Score and Parts.

E

Esther.

Eliza.

F

Flavius.

Floridante. 2 Setts.

Festin's May Morning.

Faramond.

Faries.

G

Griselda.

Galliard's Cantatas. 2 Setts.

H

Hayden's Cantatas.

Hercules.

Hayes's Cantatas.

Hymen.

Handel's Te Deum. Old. In D. Score and Parts.

„ Te Deum. In B. Parts only.

„ Dettingen Te Deum. Score and Parts.

„ Serenata. Parts only.

Music belonging to the Society

Handel's Anthems :—	}	" O Praise the Lord, &c." " As pants the Hart, &c." " My Song shall be alway, &c." " Have Mercy upon' me, &c." " Sing unto God, &c."	} Parts only.
------------------------	---	--	---------------

Handel's Coronation An-
them. Score and Parts.

Handel's Songs. 2 Sets. Each
5 Volumes.

Marcello's Psalms. 6 Vol-
umes.

Mudge's Non nobis Domine.

O

Otho.

Orlando.

Orpheus.

Occasional Oratorio.

Ormisda.

" O give Thanks." Anthem.
Parts only. Dr. Croft.

P

Pyrrhus.

Porus. 2 Setts.

Pepusche's Cantatas.

Dan Purcell's Cantatas.

H. Purcell's Songs.

Ptolemy.

Paradise Lost.

Purcell's St. Cæcilia's Song.
Score and Parts.

Pergolesi's Stabat Mater.

Pope's Ode. In Score. 2
Setts.

J

Julius Cæsar.

Justin.

Joseph.

Judas Maccabæus. Score
and Parts.

Joshua.

Jephtha.

Israel in Egypt. Score and
Parts.

Judith.

L

Lotharius.

M

Merode.

Manuscript Songs.

Muzio Scævola.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe

R	Semele.
Rhadamistus.	Solomon. Handel.
Richard 1st.	Susannah.
Rinaldo.	
Rhodolinda.	T
“Rejoice in the Lord.” Parts	Thomyris.
only. Anthem, by Dr.	Themistocle.
Croft.	Tempest.
S	“The Lord is a Sun and
Scipio.	Shield.” Parts only.
Siroe. 2 Setts.	Anthem, by Dr. Croft.
Sosarmes. 2 Setts.	
Saul.	V
Salve Regina.	Vespasia.
	Venus and Adonis.

Some interesting glimpses into the method of management, and the difficulties that had to be encountered, may be discovered from time to time in the columns of the *Oxford Journal*. The subscribers and performers appear to have had the privilege of borrowing music from the Library, and to have been somewhat remiss in returning the music thus borrowed. The following advertisement appeared repeatedly in the *Oxford Journal* during the early months of 1766¹:—

“Whereas many Books belonging to the Musical Society are missing, supposed to be in the Hands of Gentlemen, or the Performers,

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 25, 1766, &c.

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who have borrowed them for their private Practice, by which Means a great Number of Sets have become useless. . . . It is requested, by the Society, of such Gentlemen or Performers, to return them to the acting Steward; or to the Steward for their respective Colleges; or to Mr. Cross, at his Music shop in Oxford, before the 25th of March next." The "acting Steward" appears to have been "the Steward" of the rules, and the Collegiate basis of the governing body is clearly exemplified. Three years later the same difficulty happened again, and an advertisement appeared,¹ stating that "Several Books belonging to the Musical Society in Oxford, being wanting; those Gentlemen who have any of them in their Possession are requested to return them immediately to Mr. Cross at his Music Shop."

From all this it would seem that the borrowers of books in eighteenth-century Oxford were as inconsiderate and as troublesome as they are at the present time. So apparently were the owners of dogs. In 1773 it was found necessary to insert in the articles of subscription a request that "dogs be not brought into the room,"² and this was re-

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 27, 1769.

² *Ibid.*, March 20, 1773.

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peated annually, except in 1780 and 1783. A still more serious difficulty is suggested by the stringent regulations with regard to Ladies' tickets,¹ which had previously got into the hands of servants, "and so improper Persons have obtained Admittance . . . especially on Choral Nights." Singers and critics were also as tiresome then as they are now. One Mrs. Scott got the poor stewards into a very awkward situation in 1766. Let them tell their own sad tale. In advertising a performance of "Acis and Galatea" they add,² "A less trite Performance might have been expected, and was indeed intended by the Society; Application having been made to Miss Wright and Mrs. Scott, successively, for their Assistance in Milton's 'L'Allegro': Miss Wright was engaged; and the Terms proposed by Mrs. Scott, of *Two and Forty Guineas, for one Night's Attendance in a private Room*, are such as it is impossible for the Society to comply with: it is therefore hoped, the Knowledge of these Particulars, may be deemed a sufficient Apology for the above Appointment, which Necessity directed: 'Acis and Galatea' being the only Performance possible to be put in readiness by the Time pre-

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 25, 1769; March 21, 1772.

² *Ibid.*, April 12, 1766.

Music belonging to the Society

fixed ; and which, on Account of the Absence of the Professor, and some of the principal Performers, during the Remainder of the Term, after the 21st of April, cannot be postponed to any more distant Day." Mrs. Scott's terms certainly seem very exorbitant, and most readers will endorse the indignant italics that the stewards used. The audience, too, was disposed to criticise the music provided for them, and sometimes even went so far as to invoke the aid of the London newspapers to air their grievances.¹

Before quitting this part of the subject, it may be worth while to add that the earliest bit of programme now to be discovered is a comic song, interpolated, oddly enough to our ways of thinking, between the "Acts" of the oratorio of "Esther," on April 29, 1771,² and that in December of the same year a paragraph, in the news part of the *Oxford Journal*,³ announced that "Three ITALIAN MUSICIANS are engaged on Monday next to perform some select Pieces on the Calisuncino,⁴ the Roman Guittar, and Maundolins."

¹ See the reply by "Benevolus" in Jackson's *Oxford Journal* of June 20, 1772, to a complaint which had appeared in the *London Evening Post*.

² See Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 27, 1771, and "Oxford Concert Bills" in the Bodleian.

³ Dec. 14, 1771.

⁴ *i.e.* probably the Calascione.

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During this period there is little trace of the Music Room being used for any use other than the weekly concerts; but in 1776 a course of seven lectures on English pronunciation, by Mr. Walker, was advertised to be given there.¹

Three musical prodigies appeared at the Music Room in the latter part of the period we are considering. The *Oxford Journal* of July 3, 1779, contains an advertisement by which "Mrs. Crotch from *Norwich* begs Leave to acquaint the Ladies and Gentlemen of this University and City, that her CHILD, who is not yet *Four Years of Age*, will, by permission of the Vice-Chancellor, and the Stewards of the Musical Society, play upon the ORGAN at the Musick Room this day at Twelve o'Clock." Four years later, "Master Crotch, the Musical Child," again visited Oxford at Commemoration, and played on the Organ, Harpsichord, and Violin, in the Music Room on July 5, 1783. Later in the month (July 22) there was a concert for his benefit in the same place at the curious hour of twelve o'clock. In the year 1785, Miss Poole came to Oxford and gave concerts at the "Alfred's Head" in High Street. She appears to have made something of a sensation, and, when Monro's benefit

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 15, 1776.



WILLIAM CROTCH AS AN INFANT PRODIGY

From the rare engraving of J. Sanders in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

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concert proved a failure, he endeavoured to ensure the success of his second venture by securing Miss Poole as a performer.¹ The result is thus described:² "On Thursday Night the celebrated Miss Pool, not eleven Years of Age, performed two Songs, composed by Dr. Arne, at our Musick Room; also played the twelfth Sonata of Paradies, which, making but a small Allowance for her tender Years, has never been exceeded, if equalled, in this Century." On October 27, 1788, Hummel, then nine years of age, produced a quartett with horn *obbligato*, and apparently played a sonata for the harp-sichord. All of these gifted children escaped the usual fate of such prodigies. Miss Poole (Mrs. Dickons) became one of the best singers of the day; Crotch not only became Professor at Oxford and the first Principal of the Royal Academy of Music, but wrote a quantity of beautiful music which ought to be better known to English musicians; the *cognoscenti* of Vienna considered Hummel as great a musician as Beethoven, and, though posterity has not ratified this verdict, it still performs many of his compositions.

The earliest mention that I have been able

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 12, 1785.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1785.

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to discover of the little band of musicians who formed the staff of the Music Room, is in 1753. In that year the chief of them gave a testimonial to Joseph Howe, then a candidate for the post of organist of Rochester Cathedral, which, in the event, he obtained. The original is preserved in the archives of the Dean and Chapter, and runs as follows:—

“MUSIC ROOM, OXON., June 11, 1753.

“We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do think the bearer, Mr. Joseph Howe, in every respect qualified to undertake the office of a Cathedral organist, and as such recommend him:—

W. Hayes.	Jos. Jackson, First Violin.
G. Darch, A.M.	C. Orthman, Principal Violoncello.
R. Cotes, A.M.	W. Walond, Assistant Organist.
R. Church, Organist of Xt. Ch.	

(Performing Members of the Musical Society).”¹

But, besides this instance of what may be called collective action, occasional glimpses of individual musicians are to be had. Some, indeed, such as Lates,² Lambourne,³ and Miss

¹ See the *Musical Times* for March 1908. It is perhaps a fair inference that Howe came from Oxford.

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 16, 1771. He was perhaps second violin. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1775. He lived in Friar's Entry in 1757 (*Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1757). He died on Nov. 21, 1777 (*Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1777), and a work by him (or a son) is apparently thus described by Mr. Ellis of 29 New Bond St. (Catalogue XII. 1910). Lates, James, *Junr.*, of *Oxford*, Six Solos for a Violin and Violoncello, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord. Op. III. *C. and S. Thompson* [about 1770]. Folio, 12s.

³ Lambourne seems to have died before 1783 (*Ibid.*, April 5, 1783).

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Reynolds, remain mere names, but in the case of several some incidents have been recorded. At the head of all were the two Professors of Music, father and son, William and Philip Hayes, for it is not till about 1807 that the mischievous plan of having a non-resident Professor, that has, with the exception of the years 1889-1899, prevailed ever since, was introduced. Dr. William Hayes was one of the best musicians of the age, and his music is still to be heard in English cathedrals. Born at Gloucester in 1707, he took part in the earliest festivals at Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, somewhere about 1718-1724. He also provided the setting for one of the most tuneful of the celebrated Gloucester Cathedral chimes.

The name of Hayes is recorded on the rolls of Gloucester from Elizabethan times. Its members appear to have been mostly "inn-holders and rope-makers" (*corvisars*). It was at the Golden Cock, in the shadow of the cathedral, that William Hayes was born, 1707-8, son of William Hayes and Sarah his wife. In 1717 the boy's name appears for the first time among the cathedral choristers, where it remained for the next ten years. By 1727 William Hayes, Jun., was renowned in the city as a vocalist and a player on the organ

The Oldest Music Room in Europe and the harpsichord. Through the interest of Mr. Viney, the friend of Mrs. Delany, he was apprenticed to William Hine, the organist.

A year or two later he became organist at St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, and soon after he must have married, for a son was born to him and his wife Ann on May 28, 1731. Shortly after this event he was appointed organist at Worcester Cathedral. The *Worcester Journal* of July 7-14, 1732, has the following announcement:—

“On Tuesday, August 1, in the evening, at the Town Hall, will be performed a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, for the benefit of Mr. William Hayes, Organist of the Cathedral. *N.B.*—There will be a Ball for the Ladies when the Musick is ended.”

And again on July 20, 1733, there appears in the same journal a notice to the effect that—

“On Monday, July the 30th, will be perform'd a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, for the benefit of William Hayes, Organist at the Cathedral. *N.B.*—The place of performance will be mention'd in the next paper.”

The people of Worcester determined that their cathedral organist should not lack benefit through any fault of theirs.

It was probably during the latter part of 1733 that Hayes first went to Oxford, where he was to spend the remainder of his busy and

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useful life. The official record of his career at Oxford runs as follows :—

“Organist of Magd. Coll. 1734; Privilegiatus 13th June, 1735, Magd. Coll.; Mus. Bac. 8th July, 1735; Professor of Music, 1741–1777; created Mus. Doc. 14th July, 1749.”

Before acquiring his last degree he had become the friend and champion of Handel. The festival of the Society of Lovers of Musick at Salisbury in 1752 was in reality a festival in honour of Handel, “whose fertile and transcendent genius,” says the *Salisbury Journal*, “had justly acquired him a continued and universal admiration for more than forty years past. The vocal performers were eighteen in number, among whom the principal were Dr. William Hayes, Professor of Music at Oxford, his two sons, and Mr. Freeman.”

Dr. Hayes conducted the music-meeting at Gloucester, in 1760, at which the death of Handel was commemorated by special performances, and Hayes' own “Ode to the Passions” was produced.

He died in 1777, at the age of sixty-nine years, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford.¹ He seems

¹ These particulars have been supplied to me by Mr. A. M. Broadley, a great-great-grandson of Dr. William Hayes, who possesses the whole of his MSS. as well as fifty unpublished compositions by Dr. Philip Hayes.

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to have lived, at any rate towards the close of his life,¹ in Clarendon Street, that is to say, the eastern part of what is now called Broad Street, stretching from the western end of Holywell as far, at least, as Kettel Hall. Here his widow, Mrs. Ann Hayes, died on January 14, 1786.² After her death the property was advertised for sale, and, from the description of it then given, it would seem to have comprised what are now Nos. 39, 40, and 41 Broad Street, and the stables between 5 and 6 Parks Road.³

Dr. Philip Hayes, the son of Dr. William Hayes, seems to have begun his professional career at Oxford,⁴ but he was nearly forty years of age when he returned to it to become organist of New College in 1776. In the following year he succeeded his father as Professor of Music and organist of Magdalen

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 9 and July 7, 1787.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1786.

³ In his time the latter consisted of stabling for at least ten horses. He twice advertised them as being to let (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 10, 1759, and Oct. 17, 1761), and on the latter occasion they are said to be "situated opposite Wadham College Horse-Gate in the Way to the Parks."

⁴ In 1761, Mr. Hayes was advertised to play one of Handel's Concertos on the harpsichord in the Music Room on June 15 (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 6, 1761), and in 1763 "Philip Hayes, Organist, Oxford," appears among the subscribers to "Social Harmony: a collection of Songs and Catches by Thomas Hale, of Darnhall, Cheshire."



DR. PHILIP HAYES

From a water-colour sketch in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

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College, appointments which he retained till his death, twenty years later. He was a man of an enormous size and an extremely bad temper.¹ In February 1789, Dr. Philip Hayes, then a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, was at Gloucester claiming "to be admitted to the privileges of a *corvisar* and inn-holder in right of his father's copy."

The two most prominent singers were Thomas Norris² and William Matthews.³ "Master Norris from Salisbury" was advertised to sing in the Concerts at the Encænia of 1759,⁴ and in performances for the benefit of the Music Room on July 2 and 3, 1760.⁵ "Mr. Norris from Salisbury"⁶ sang at the Music Room in 1762, and three years later, in 1765, he settled

¹ The story which gained him the nickname of "Fill-chaise," in punning allusion to his usual signature "Phil Hayes," of which there are several forms, is best known to the present writer in the following shape. A gentleman who had arrived at the "Star," being anxious to reduce the cost of a chaise to London, advertised for a companion on his journey, and receiving an answer from Hayes, proceeded in the chaise to pick up his partner. On calling at Hayes' house in Holywell to do so, the Doctor sallied forth to get into the chaise; but as soon as his ample proportions were discerned, the gentleman repented of his bargain and drove off instantly to London, leaving Hayes standing on his doorstep. See also *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1797, p. 354.

² Bloxam's "Register of Magdalen College," vol. ii. p. 105.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 103.

⁴ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 30, 1759.

⁵ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1760.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1762; March 12, 1763.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe in Oxford as organist of Christ Church. He remained a great favourite till his death in 1790. Matthews was a Music-seller in Cat Street in 1767, and probably afterwards, till he went to live in the High, opposite All Saints' Church.¹ He was most likely a member of some college choir, and was one of the Esquires Bedel of the University.² Both Matthews and Norris were engaged as solo singers at the Great Commemoration of Handel in Westminster Abbey in 1784.

It is greatly to be wished that more information were forthcoming with regard to a family named Mahon, which was evidently closely connected with the Music Room for a great number of years. The name first appears in 1772, when Mr. Mahon played a concerto on the clarionet on Nov. 5.³ On Dec. 9, in the following year, Mrs. Mahon held a benefit concert at which Miss Mahon sang and Mr. Mahon played the clarionet.⁴ A programme of Nov. 10, 1774,⁵ contains a concerto for the hautboy to be played by Mr. Mahon, junior, and on March 14, 1776,⁶

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 9, 1767; Nov. 26, 1791.

² Yeoman Bedel (Law), Esquire Bedel (Divinity), Bloxam's "Register of Magdalen College," vol. ii. p. 103.

³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 31, 1772.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1773.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1774.

⁶ *Ibid.*, March 9, 1776.

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Miss Mahon had a benefit concert at which a concerto for the clarionet by J. Mahon was played. At her next benefit, July 22, 1778, two duets, to be sung by Miss Mahon and Miss M. Mahon, appeared in the programme.¹ By this time it would appear that the clarionet-player had ceased to live in Oxford, as a paragraph in the *Oxford Journal* for Nov. 7, 1778, after announcing that Cramer was to play at the weekly concert on Nov. 9, adds that "Mr. Mahon is also in Oxford and will play a Concerto on the Clarionet." In 1780² the announcement of Miss Mahon's engagement for the year, already mentioned, appeared at the beginning of March. Mr. Mahon played a clarionet concerto at the Choral Music in the summer of 1781,³ at both Malchair's concerts in 1783,⁴ and at his spring concert in 1784.⁵ Another member of the family, Miss Sarah Mahon,⁶ appeared as a singer on July 20, 1785.⁷ Miss Mahon at one time had lodgings near St. Mary Magdalen's Church,⁸ but, by the spring of 1787, had gone to lodge

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 18, 1778.

² *Ibid.*, March 4, 1780.

³ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1781.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 8, 1783; May 31, 1783.

⁵ *Ibid.*, March 6, 1784.

⁶ Afterwards Mrs. Second. She was dead in 1812. Williams and Chance's "Annals of Three Choir Festivals," p. 75. See also Parke's "Musical Memoirs," vol. i. p. 238.

⁷ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 16, 1785.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1785.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe in the High Street.¹ A year later Mrs. Ambrosse (Ambrose), who had been one of the Misses Mahon,² sang in the "Messiah" on March 3, 1788, and again on April 14, 1788, and at the "Choral Music" on June 16, 1788. She also sang again, in the "Messiah," on March 23, 1789.³ The most likely inference from these various notices is that the original Mr. Mahon, who seems to have come from Salisbury, had been one of the players in the orchestra, and his wife a singer with a regular engagement. They appear to have had two sons, John Mahon⁴ and William Mahon, born respectively in 1746 and 1753. William Mahon seems to have been the best clarionet player of his day. His career began at Oxford, though he soon removed, presumably to London. "The Mahons" appear in an advertisement of March 19, 1776, and Burney includes "W. Mahon, Oxford," amongst the viola-players, and "J. Mahon, Oxford," amongst the first violins, in his account of the Handel Festival of 1784. On the other hand, "Mr. Mahon, the celebrated clarionet-player," was in London in 1779.⁵ There were

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 21, 1787.

² *Ibid.*, April 12, 1788.

³ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1789.

⁴ Crotch's "Malchair," p. 48.

⁵ Parke's "Musical Memoirs," vol. i. p. 13.

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at least four daughters, Mrs. Ambrose, perhaps the eldest, Mrs. Warton, Mrs. Second, and Mrs. Munday. Mrs. Munday was probably the youngest of the sisters, as her first public appearance did not take place till Jan. 26, 1792.¹ Eliza, daughter of the last named,² born in 1787, was afterwards the famous singer Mrs. Salmon. As Miss Mahon speaks of her lodgings,³ it seems likely that her parents were dead, and that the sisters kept house together and supported themselves by singing. Another Oxford singer who appeared very frequently about the year 1783 was Miss George, who lived in Holywell, and was the occasion of the great dispute between Dr. Philip Hayes and Monro in the autumn of 1780, of which some account will be given presently.

The leaders of the orchestra during this period were Joseph Jackson⁴ and John Baptist Malchair.⁵ Jackson had probably been the leader from the commencement of the concerts in 1748; he is certainly the first known to us.⁶ His first benefit, so far as we know, took place on March 7, 1755.⁷ He is stated

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 28, 1792.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 30, 1819.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1785; April 21, 1787.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1756.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1812.

⁶ See above, p. 68.

⁷ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 1, 1755.

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to have lived in Holywell at that time. He was often assisted at his benefits by Mr. W. Jackson, from London,¹ a violinist also, who may have been a brother or a son. He died in the autumn of 1759, and a benefit concert on an exceptional scale was given by the stewards for the benefit of his widow.² "Mr. Jackson, Musician, Oxford," appears among the names of the subscribers to "Social Harmony, a collection of songs and catches, by Thomas Hale, of Darnhall, Cheshire," printed in 1763, but this may have been Paul Jackson, probably a son of Joseph, who was born in 1742,³ spent his whole life as a flute-player and violinist in the Music Room Band,⁴ and died, aged 86, in 1828.⁵ After Jackson's death in 1759, one Hellendaal led, at any rate, one concert,⁶ but Malchair was ultimately appointed his successor, and gave his first benefit concert on March 13, 1760.⁷

A fortunate circumstance has preserved for

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 1, 1756; Aug. 19, 1758.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1759.

³ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1828.

⁴ See Jung's "Concerts of Vocal and Instrumental Music, as performed at the Music Room, Oxford, from October, 1807, to October, 1808."

⁵ His widow died Nov. 24, in the same year, aged eighty-eight. Their son, C. Jackson, also a flute-player, died April 22, 1832, aged fifty-five (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 28, 1832).

⁶ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 3, 1759.

⁷ *Ibid.*, March 8, 1760.

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us a good many particulars with regard to John Baptist Malchair,¹ who succeeded Jackson as leader of the orchestra. He is described by Jung, in his *Guide d'Oxford* (1789), as having "Un gout particulier pour la musique du célébré Handel, Geminiani, Corelli, et l'autres anciens auteurs." In his old age he became a friend of the young organist of Christ Church, William Crotch.² His eyesight beginning to fail, he adopted various devices for employing his time, and amongst them was the rather curious one of arranging and composing melodies for a violin with three strings. The whim owed its origin to the circumstance of his finding that one of his violins had a string broken when he took it out of its case, but it took a great hold of his fancy, and he even invented a special method of notation to suit the imperfect instrument. After a while he got into the habit, apparently about 1797, of calling on Crotch every day at four o'clock. "He brought a Music book for me to play to him under his arm, and sometimes brought a new tune for me to write as his eyes became too dim to see even his large notes any longer." These daily visits lasted for nearly an

¹ For his Christian names see the title of Crotch's "Malchair," the *Oxford Journal* of March 2, 1793, and Dec. 19, 1812.

² Crotch was appointed (aged fifteen) organist of Christ Church in Sept. 1790.

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hour a day, from four o'clock until ten minutes to five, when it became time for Crotch to go to the afternoon Cathedral Service, and the result of them was that Crotch wrote down a great number of these melodies for him.¹ The volume that contains them is now in the Bodleian Library.² The early portion of it, up to No. 23 in the Second Part, seems to be a transcription of music that had been written down by Malchair himself. The remainder was written down for him, after his sight had almost entirely failed, by Crotch. The latter was evidently deeply interested in his aged friend, and wrote down much of what Malchair told him of his past life in a pocket-book. Later on, apparently at various times, he plentifully annotated the book of Malchair's Music with reminiscences, culled from the pocket-book and eked out by memory, and we are enabled thereby to construct something like a biography of the old violinist. He was the son of a watchmaker at Cologne, and was born about 1727.³ He was a chorister in that city, and his first English acquaintances were some "centinels" who good-naturedly allowed him

¹ Many of these melodies are curious, *e.g.* "The Waits of Cologne," the "Heidelberg Tun," and the like.

² Crotch's "Malchair."

³ The date of his birth is given as 1731 in the obituary notice in Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 19, 1812.

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to ride upon a gun. When quite a young man he came to London, and became a teacher of music on cheap terms to mechanics, &c. He had also a great talent for drawing, and this was presently discovered by a Frenchman who, even before he could speak English, obtained for him a post as drawing-master at a ladies' school. Soon after this he met with a captain in the English army, who, after the battle of Dettingen, had been detained in Cologne and knew his father. This gentleman introduced Malchair to Sir William Hamilton. Then Mr. Price, "father of the great Uvedale Price," came to Lewes, "where the regiment of this captain was quartered and where Malchair was teaching the officers music." The result of this visit was that Malchair lived some time in Hereford and Bristol. In the latter city he became a friend of Edmund Broderip, the cathedral organist, and a very fine player.

As we have already seen, towards the end of 1759 he became a candidate for the post of leader of the Oxford Music Room Band.¹ A

¹ Crotch gives "about y^e year 1752" as the date of these transactions, but a note in Malchair's writing, at the beginning of Crotch's "Malchair" (p. vii), speaks of "Mr. Hagley my Taylour at Bristol in the year 1757," and the *Oxford Journal* for Nov. 3, 1759, announces that "Mr. Hellendaal from London will lead the Concert and play a Solo on the Violin" on Nov. 5.

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violinist named Hollandael or Holdandael, afterwards leader at Cambridge, was also a candidate. Malchair played Geminiani's Concerto in D, Hollandael played a Solo Concerto of his own. Hollandael was a handsome man, and "reckoned on his beauty." "Poor Malchair, tho' a fine figure, was ugly." However, amongst the stewards of the Music Room at the time was a practical man in the person of Shute Barrington, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and he persuaded the stewards to elect Malchair as more useful than a solo player. Having been successful in obtaining the appointment, he settled in Oxford and married an Oxford lady named Jenner. Mrs. Malchair died, after a lingering illness, on August 14, 1773;¹ but Malchair survived her some forty years, and died on December 12, 1812,² after having lived in Oxford for a half-century. He seems to have been in request outside Oxford, playing at the Festivals of the Three Choirs,³ and taking part in the pleasant social meetings that took place annually at Oakley Wood

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, August 21, 1773. See also the announcement of the death of her only sister, Miss Patty Jenner, in the *Oxford Journal* for June 15, 1776, and Crotch's remark that "His nephew, Mr. G. Jenner, presented me with all the views his Uncle took on these 3 tours [in Wales]."

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1812.

³ Lee Williams and Chance's "Annals of the Three-Choir Festivals," pp. 36, 39, 46, and 47.



HON. AND REV. SHUTE BARRINGTON
From the picture in the Hall of Merton College

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House between the two days of the Cirencester races.¹ He seems also to have been indefatigable with his pencil, and a large number of most interesting drawings of Oxford and its neighbourhood remain to attest his skill and his industry.² In 1790 he published an "Acquatinta Print" of old Magdalen Bridge,³ "from a Drawing made by him before the Old Bridge was taken down,"⁴ and in 1793 he advertised in Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, of March 2, a print of Old Canterbury Gate before it was taken down in 1775. He at that time lived in Broad Street, "opposite Balliol College." He was also fond of taking holidays in North Wales and of sketching there. He was thus engaged in 1789 and 1791, and in 1795 he spent some weeks with the Rev. Mr. Cooke of Oriel College at Dinasmowddy, "his favourite spot in North Wales." Crotch, himself an artist of no mean skill, in recording the fact that "His nephew, Mr. G. Jenner, presented me with all the views his Uncle took

¹ See, e.g., advertisement in Jackson's *Oxford Journal* of Aug. 7, 1773.

² Mr. P. Manning, of New College, possesses an excellent collection of these.

³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 13, 1790.

⁴ One of the most valuable features of Malchair's drawings is that he usually recorded on them the place, year, day of the month, and even hour at which they were made. Occasionally even the weather was added.

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on these 3 tours—an invaluable present,” adds the pleasing *trait*, “Yet Malchair would call all his Drawings and Music *mere rubbish* when conversing on Holy Subjects.” It is sad to think that the public career of this pious artist and musician should have been cut short by an undergraduate riot. Such is, however, alas! the fact. About 1792 his Cremona violin was broken by an orange thrown at the orchestra in the Music Room “during a tumult of y^e young men, . . . after which he never lead.”¹ His sight was probably failing already, but for some years the old musician derived much pleasure from his daily visits to Crotch, already described.

He continued these visits till 1799,² when he had the misfortune to break his shin against a wheelbarrow in “Trinity Court” where he “used to take a few turns,” after which he never again ventured out. His strength slowly decayed, but it is pleasant to find that the friendship between the aged violinist and the brilliant young Professor of Music³ was maintained. “After confining himself to the house he had two falls downstairs, but they did not

¹ Crotch’s “Malchair,” p. 8.

² The last tune written for him by Crotch is dated Dec. 3, 1799 (Crotch’s “Malchair,” p. 28).

³ Crotch was elected Professor of Music in 1797.

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materially injure him—his strength wasted very gradually. I used to call on him every Sunday after Morning Sermon.” It must have been a sad day for poor Malchair when Crotch left Oxford for London about the end of 1806.¹ He did not long survive this last loss. “I last saw him in 1812. He died about 1812 or 13,” says Crotch; from the *Oxford Journal* of Saturday, Dec. 19, 1812, it appears that he died the previous Saturday in his eighty-second year. Even now a delightful fragrance of simplicity and piety hangs about the memories of this most lovable artist and musician. And though Oxford, where he lived and worked so long, only remembers him for his drawings, Gloucester preserves a trace of him as a musician, for the fourth of the melodies that ring out daily from the Cathedral peal of bells is the composition of John Baptist Malchair.

Next in importance to the leaders must be placed the principal violoncello-players, E. C. Orthmann and G. Monro.² Orthmann was probably principal 'cello from the very start in 1748. At any rate, he seems to have occupied that position in 1754, when he had

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 27, 1806; April 11, 1807.

² Orthmann's initials are obtained from his apology in Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 26, 1757; and Monro's from his vindication of himself in 1780 (*vide post*).

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a benefit on Nov. 15.¹ This benefit in the autumn of each year continued till 1760, with the exception of 1759. He continued in this position till 1768, when he was superseded by Monro for some reason that seems unascertainable now. He apparently lived on in Oxford for more than twenty years after Monro's appointment. Twenty-two years after giving place to Monro he again had benefit concerts,² and he actually survived his successor. No clue to his mysterious retirement is to be found in the record of his death and obsequies which appeared in Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, which, on the contrary, suggests that his old age was spent in the esteem and affection of his brother musicians, and it may be added, of the public also. "Last Friday Evening the 30th ult. died at his House in this City in the 90th Year of his Age Mr. — Orthman, by Birth a German, but who had been resident in this country near fifty Years, and deservedly acquired universal Esteem in many of the first Families in the Neighbourhood, by whom he had formerly been employed both as Dancing and Music Master. He had also been long engaged as Violoncello at our

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 9, 1754. See also p. 68.

² *Ibid.*, June 5, 1790; Feb. 12, 1791.

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Music-Room ; and, as a particular Mark of Respect to his Memory, on Wednesday, when his Remains were interred in the Church of St. Peter in the East, the three first Verses of the 90th Psalm, new Version, set to Music for that Solemnity, and conducted by Mr. Woodcock, were performed by a select Band, vocal and instrumental ; when the Church was exceedingly crowded, and the Congregation remarkably attentive.”¹ Orthmann spent the end of his life “near the Angel opposite Queen’s.”² Amongst his instruments and music, which were sold in February 1793,³ were a harpsichord by Kirkman with special devices, a 'cello by Barak Norman, two other 'celli by Lysson, and several violins.⁴ The best explanation of these proceedings seems to be that Orthmann, when close on seventy years of age, resigned his position at the Music Room, feeling that the strain of regular playing in a responsible position in the orchestra was too much for his energies, and that he came back to it to fill Monro’s place during the illness of the latter, which led to his having two benefit concerts.⁵

¹ Jackson’s *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 7, 1792.

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1793.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1793.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1793.

⁵ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1790 ; Feb. 12, 1791.

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His successor, as already stated, was G. Monro. He seems to have settled in Oxford originally in the late summer of 1768, when he established himself as a dancing-master in New Inn Lane.¹ Three months later he advertised in the *Oxford Journal* that he had "been appointed by the University to succeed Mr. Orthmann,"² and was prepared to give lessons in Music and Dancing. In the course of less than a year and a half he had gone to live in Holywell, opposite the Music Room, where he had a room for his dancing-school sufficiently large to be, on occasion, used for the purposes of a lecture.³ As already observed, Monro seems to have taken extraordinary pains to make his benefit concerts interesting, and the disappointment that he sustained with regard to his annual concert on Nov. 16, 1780, owing to the non-appearance of his singer, Miss George, must have been a great mortification to him. His original apology to his patrons for the inadequacy of his programme seems, on the surface, an inoffensive notice enough, but it provoked a great explosion of wrath from the

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Aug. 27 and Oct. 8, 1768.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 5 and 12, 1768.

³ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1770. This is probably the building in Holywell on the east side of Bath Place.

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conductor of the band, Dr. Philip Hayes, who was, as we have mentioned, notorious for bad temper. The upshot was a very pretty quarrel, which kept the would-be wits of Oxford employed for a month or more. Fortunately, the various squibs provoked by the disputes were copied out into a manuscript book by some one to whom they were of interest. This book is now in the Bodleian Library,¹ and, by its aid, we can pretty well make out what happened. It gives such a good idea of the general tone of life in Oxford at the time that we will reprint it *in extenso*, though some of it has already been reproduced in G. V. Cox's "Recollections of Oxford."²

The first public intimation of the dispute was the following note which Monro printed at the bottom of the programme of his benefit concert: "MONRO *most respectfully acquaints the Company that he applied to Miss GEORGE for her Assistance at his Benefit, but she had not Dr. HAYES's Permission to sing.*"

This was on a Thursday. The rejoinder came in the programme of the ordinary weekly concert on the following Monday (Nov. 20, 1780), and was as follows: "Mr. MONRO *having*

¹ MS. Top. Oxon. e. 48 (from Mr. Thom's Collection).

² Second edition, pp. 24-26. It will be seen that Monro played 'cello, not violin.

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insinuated, at the Bottom of his Music Bill, that I refused Miss GEORGE'S Assistance at his Benefit, I beg Leave to assure the University in general, and the Audience in particular, that my PERMISSION was never directly or indirectly asked.—PHIL. HAYES."

It is not very hazardous to conjecture that this intimation produced a buzz of amused comment amongst the audience, and a good deal of suppressed excitement amongst the players in the orchestra, or that gossips found much to say on the matter during the course of the week. On the next Monday (Nov. 27), Monro put out his answer, probably in a fly-sheet circulated amongst the audience present that evening, but the manuscript does not specifically state how it was promulgated. Here it is :—

Dr. HAYES having asserted, at the Bottom of last Monday's Music Bill, that his PERMISSION for Miss George to sing at my Benefit was neither *directly nor indirectly asked*, has rendered it necessary for me to trouble the Public with all the Circumstances concerning my Application to her.

I waited on Miss George and desired the favour of her Assistance at my Benefit, offering to pay her for singing; she told me she should be very glad to sing for me, but could not without Dr. Hayes's Leave; on which I left her, and next Day sent for Mr. George, her Father, who expressed the same Willingness for his Daughter to sing as she had before, but said Dr. Hayes's PERMISSION must be first asked.

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I told him that I had no Connection with Dr. Hayes, that I would pay his daughter the same Price as she received from the Stewards of the Music Room for her Assistance, and therefore, 'twas his Business to get PERMISSION for her to sing; he said his Daughter was to be with Dr. Hayes that Morning, when she would mention the Affair to him, and he would let me know the Event. I waited two Days, 'till it becoming proper for me to draw out the Plan of my Concert, I called upon Mr. George to know if Dr. Hayes's PERMISSION had been obtained, and received for Answer, that *it was not agreeable* that she should sing. Now it having been generally expected that Miss George would sing at my Benefit, I thought it prudent to mention in my Bills why she did not.

I am well aware that Disputes between TWEEDLEDUM and TWEEDLEDEE are beneath the Notice of the Gentlemen of the University, but I thought it incumbent on me to clear my Character from the Imputation of having published a Falsehood at the *Bottom of my Music Bill*.

G. MONRO.

OXFORD, *November 27, 1780.*

Monro's astonishing statement that he, the principal violoncello in the band, had "no Connection" with the conductor suggests that there had been previous quarrels, or even a well-established feud between the two men. It should be noticed that though Monro's explanation justifies his previous proceedings to some extent, it contains no evidence whatever that Hayes ever heard a word of the

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matter till Monro's first notice appeared. And on the same day (November 27, 1780) as that on which Monro's vindication was issued, Mr. George, the father of the lady who was the occasion of all this commotion, made the following affidavit, which was probably also made public by a fly-sheet :—

I, *Tobias George*, do voluntarily make Oath that *Dr. Hayes's* Permission for my Daughter to sing at *Mr. Monro's* Benefit was not asked by me or by my Daughter, and farther, that I myself refused her Assistance in consequence of *Mr. Monro's* Declaration to me, at our first meeting, that he would not by any means lay himself under an Obligation to *Dr. Hayes*, though I did not acquaint *Mr. Monro* with the reasons of such my Refusal.

TOBIAS GEORGE.

Sworn before me this 27th Day of November, 1780.

SAM DENNIS, *Vice-Chancellor*.

The most likely solution of the whole affair seems to be that George, knowing that Hayes and Monro were on bad terms, was afraid to ask permission for his daughter to sing for Monro from the bad-tempered Professor, and was then afraid to tell Monro that he had not had the courage to make the request as he had promised. Monro, not unnaturally, jumped to the conclusion that Hayes had refused to allow Miss George, who was most likely a pupil of his, to sing, and that Hayes put pressure on

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her father to make him own that he had neglected to ask for permission. It is possible that both Hayes and Monro felt that nobody but George was to blame. At any rate they seem to have taken no further part in the matter. But the attention of the public, probably even the attention of the "Gentlemen of the University," whom Monro spoke of as too dignified to bestow a thought on such a matter, had been arrested. It may be accepted, too, that Hayes and Monro had each a following of partisans. At any rate, the quarrel brought down a shower of pasquinades. Two days later the following attempt to turn George's affidavit into ridicule was produced :—

November 29, 1780.

CHARLES—Moses here shall, if you desire it, swear it.

MOSES—Ish, I vill make my affidavit.

Scene in the School for Scandal.

FIVE PLAIN QUESTIONS

1. Can a Man be said to swear Voluntarily who is induced by persuasion, desire, or any other foreign Motive?
2. Was there no Interview between Dr. H. and Tobias George previous to his making the Affidavit for himself and Daughter?
3. Is it usual, even on Emergencies, to swear by Proxy?
4. Will Dr. H. (or will Tobias for him) swear that no Person was present when Miss George spoke to him concerning her singing at Mr. Monro's Benefit; and that she

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has never since mentioned, to any one, her having so spoken to him?

5. How many Years longer does Tobias George intend to swear for his Daughter?

This appears to be a somewhat ill-natured attempt to insinuate that the true state of the case was that Miss George herself applied to Hayes for leave to sing and was refused, and that her father's affidavit was meant to screen Hayes' refusal of permission. No more is heard of this unpleasant view of the matter. But Monro's phrase of Tweedledum and Tweedledee had caught people's fancy. Hayes was an enormous man;¹ Monro, who from his being a dancing-master seems to have been called "Kit,"² was a small and insignificant-looking man. Accordingly, the day before the "Five Plain Questions" were propounded, some wag bethought himself of Handel's "Acis and Galatea," and produced the following parody:—

TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE

A New Musical INTERLUDE: As intended to be Performed between the ACTS of the Grand Miscellaneous CONCERT on Monday next.³

¹ See p. 73.

² A kit was the little fiddle used by dancing-masters in teaching.

³ The "Grand Miscellaneous Concert" for the Term had been announced for November 27, but had been postponed for a week

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SCENE I

KIT TWEEDLEDEE in a pensive Posture ;
TWEEDLEDUM in a Rage at a Distance.

AIR AND CHORUS

Wretched Kit! thine Hour is come!
Behold the Monster, Tweedledum!
See what shuffling Strides he takes:
See with what Wrath his Jowl he shakes!
Wretched Kit! thine Hour is come!
Shun the Monster Tweedledum.

Enter TWEEDLEDUM (*con furia*), supported by his Man, TOBIAS. Tobias swears loud to a martial Symphony, after which, the following Recitative is spoken, and Air sung by TWEEDLEDUM.

RECITATIVE

Thanks to thee, gentle Toby, for thy swearing:
It cheers me much. Toby! 'tis past all bearing,
That Tweedledee, that dabbler in the Science,
Should thus set great Professors at Defiance.

AIR¹

Shall a Thrummer, a Scraper,
A Man of brown Paper,
Dare thus to our Teeth to belye us?

in consequence of the death (*Oxford Journal*, November 25) or illness (*Oxford Journal*, December 2) of the father of the *prima donna* who had been engaged, Miss Harper.

¹ The music of this air has survived, and is given in the Appendix, p. 203. It does not appear whether the whole interlude was set to music.

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Shall the Organ submit
To the Bagpipe and Kit?
Swear louder, swear louder, TOBIAS!
[Toby *swears* again.]

RECIT. (TWEEDLEDEE)

His Insolence provokes my Rage:
Weak as I am, I must Engage.

AIR

I care not, grim Goblin,
For thy hopping and hobbling,
Wer't thou three times as big as thou now art:
It ne'er shall be said
Tweedledee was afraid,
Or in such a good Cause was a Coward.

RECIT. (TWEEDLEDUM)

Shall Tweedledum engage so mean a Foe?
Hence, Caitiff—or I'll end thee at a Blow.¹

SEMI-CHORUS

O Tweedledum, be not so cruel,
With Tweedledee to fight a Duel!
Since, Tweedledum,
The joint of thy Thumb
Is as big as the Knee
Of *poor Tweedledee*.

AIR repeated (TWEEDLEDEE)

I care not, grim Goblin, &c., as before.

¹ Clearly suggested by "Samson."

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They fight. TWEEDLEDEE disarms him, and breaks his Head with his KIT; after which TWEEDLEDUM sings the following Air:—

AIR

Tweedledee, thou hast won;
The Vict'ry's thy own:
Wou'd to God I had seen thee never!
With thy damn'd little Kit
My poor Skull thou hast split,
And spoilt all my *Concertos* for ever.

[*Expires warbling.*]

SCENE II

TWEEDLEDEE in Triumph, mounted on an Elephant; the Head of TWEEDLEDUM is borne before him in a green Bag. Flowers scattered in his way by *grown Gentlemen*.

CHORUS¹ OF GROWN GENTLEMEN

See the conq'ring Hero, see!
Hail, immortal TWEEDLEDEE!
See the full-grown Youths advance:
Strew the Flow'rs and lead the Dance.
Sweep the Lyre, the Trumpet sound,
Be Tweedledee with Honour crown'd:
But let his own sad Organ hum,
O'er fall'n, inglorious Tweedledum!

FULL CHORUS

Sweep the Lyre, the Trumpet sound,
Be Tweedledee with Honour crown'd!
But let his own sad Organ hum,
O'er fall'n, inglorious Tweedledum!

OXFORD, Nov. 28, 1780.

¹ "Judæus Maccabæus" seems to have inspired this Chorus.

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Of course, many points in this quaint effusion are imperceptible to the modern reader. None the less it achieved immediately a certain success. Four days after its appearance, viz. on Saturday, Dec. 2, 1780, the public were informed that

Speedily will be published

A new EDITION

Of the witty Musical Interlude

Entitled

TWEEDLEDUM

and

TWEEDLEDEE;

or

Kit, the Giant Killer;

with NOTES, Critical and Classical,

by

Dryden L—ch,

Exeter Laureat.

EXETER: Printed for the Author by Thos. Cl—ke, JOURNALIST, at the Sign of the FIDDLE, reviver of the OLD SWIFT (?) Type.

Several allusions in this piece suggest that the junior members of the University sided

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with *Monro*. What else can be the meaning of the "grown Gentlemen" and the "full-grown Youths"? Apparently, the *Hayes* party was quiescent for a while, but they presently had their say, and this is how they said it:—

Decr. 19th, 1780.

THE LAST DYING SPEECH AND CONFESSION

Birth, Parentage and Education, wicked life and dying behaviour of *KIT TWEEDLEDEE*, who was executed at *OXFORD*, pursuant to his sentence for the Barbarous, Bloody, and inhuman Murder of *TWEEDLEDUM*.

The unhappy Culprit who this day suffered the sentence of the law, was (if report speaks truth) born at *Aylesbury*, in the County of *Bucks*, or, as some say, imported from *Ireland*, to the no small loss of that kingdom, as his musical abilities would no doubt have entitled him to the first seat in the *Dublin Opera*: being blessed with a light pair of heels, he early in life bound himself apprentice to an eminent Dancing Master in *London*, where, as part of his employment, he practised the instrument which afterwards occasioned the premature death of the unfortunate *Tweedledum*; his genius, however, soar'd higher, for, upon his settling at *Ox—d*, he took to the violoncello, which instrument (in imitation of the great Artist, *Vanbutchel*) he touched with Care, Caution and a light hand. His economy was truly Exemplary, for when the rigours of his Church permitted a Carnal indulgence, he seldom regal'd on more costly food than *Cow-heel* and small beer. Would to God we could pass over in silence Accomplishments not quite so engaging, which the Collectors of parish dues and poor rates can sufficiently testify he possessed in an eminent Degree; these,

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however, may be imputed to his zeal for the Catholick Cause. The unhappy victim was, at the hour of twelve, brought out of the Castle, attended by a priest, to whom, in the audience of the People, he made the following Confession :—

I, Kit Tweedledee, being tempted by the Dæmon of malice, did at all times and in all places seek occasion to Quarrel with the deceased Tweedledum, for what reason I cannot tell; the Quarrel was at first sotto voce, then Crescendo, afterwards Forte, and at last burst forth Fortissimò confuria. Observe, good people, how violently I *shake* before my *Close*, look not upon me with derision, but be sorry to see me take my last unhappy *Dance*, to *lead up*, and *figure out* sad, sad *Diminuendo* (he weeps), a *turn* which I never thought I should make!—Oh, Mr. L——, Oh, Mr. C——, and Oh, all my dear brethren of the *string*, little did I think to meet with one so plaguy tough (here the Executioner desired him to put his head in the noose). I am now (continued the unfortunate man) going to be *screwed* up above Concert pitch, . . . my voice *Cyphers*. . . I have *runnings* all over me (here the poor man wiped his eyes, blow'd his nose, and looked aghast at his Breeches), . . . my pulse beats a dead march. . . .

He then began to be fervent, which the priest perceiving, gave him absolution, and the Executioner did his Office.

After hanging the usual time, his body was delivered to his friends for interment, but his ghost is said to walk.

There is more malevolence than wit in this production, and it would be rash to put much trust in any of its statements, though it certainly makes it likely that Monro was a Papist.

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Its publication set the pamphleteers at work again, the first to take the field being apparently a free-lance rather than a partisan. His contribution to the controversy was called :

A DIALOGUE IN THE SHADES

Occasioned by an unnecessary Paper published Yesterday, containing an Account of the Execution of the unfortunate
TWEEDLEDEE.

TWEEDLEDUM

Ha! what's this that I see?
My old Friend, Tweedledee!
Well, the De'il has not long waited for thee!
Now as low thou dost lie,
As *inglorious* as I,
And the *Ducks* in the Church-yard *dang o'er thee!*

TWEEDLEDEE

Ducks dang o'er ME, Sir! I'd have you to know,
Mr. *Goblin!* you need not say that o' me:
I was hanged for your Murder but two Days ago:
And now—they're about my *Anatomy*.
But can it be true
That this really is You?
Why your Phyz seems all blighted like Mildew!
I was told you'd been seen
With your *Head on again*,
Looking just as you did, e'er I kill'd you.
Nay, at Oxford they talk'd
That you publicly *walk'd*,

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And appear'd in *White Satin* at Noon-day :
And were playing the F—l
In your new Music School,
No longer ago than last Monday !

TWEEDLEDUM

Ah ! Tweedledee ! thy Words awake my Sorrow !
Does some Impostor then my Visage borrow ?
Claims he my *new Improvements* as his own,
And reaps that Harvest which myself had sown ?
Oh ! had I but liv'd to have finish'd my Plan,
I'd been first of all Musical Doctors !
I'd have made such a Cup-board to hold the V——Can :
With such neat little Shelves for the P——rs !
Such Seats for the Ladies, such Busts, such devices !
So bepainted, becarv'd, and begilded,
Such sweet, pretty Pillars, all par'd into slices—
And my Orchestra—how I'd have fill'd it !
But now 'tis past ! my Fame is done away—
I, in St. Peter's Church-yard, turn to clay !

TWEEDLEDEE

And my poor Bones and Skull, in grinning Glory
In Christ Church School¹ are hung—A sad *memento mori*.

OXFORD, Dec. 21, 1780.

¹ The Anatomy School at Christ Church.

The main object of the author of this dialogue seems to have been to cast ridicule on the alterations in the fittings of the Music School effected by Hayes. The last word in

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the dispute, so far as we know, fell to a champion of the Professor and was called :

GOD'S JUST JUDGEMENT AGAINST MURDER!

Being a full and true Account of the APPARITION OF THE GHOST OF TWEEDLEDEE ; showing how, not being able to rest in Peace, he still stalks about the Town, to the great Annoyance and Terror of several poor Choristers, whom he shakes his Cane at, and grins, the same as when alive : Also giving a more particular Account of his appearing at a CERTAIN COLLEGE ; what he said there, and how he disappeared. Also a COPY OF VERSES, intended to have been sent to his Sweet-heart the Night before, which was found in his Pocket after his Execution.

On Thursday Morning last, the twenty-first of December, just past the Hour of one, Mr. ——— having undrest himself and put out his Candle, his Ears were suddenly struck with a Noise at a little Distance, which at first he thought had been the squeaking of Mice behind the Wainscot ; upon which, he got into Bed and endeavoured to compose himself to sleep ; but the Noise still increasing, he listened attentively, and could plainly perceive it was the Sound of an Instrument, *very weak, and plaintive*. Upon which, raising himself in the Bed to discover from whence the Sound proceeded, to his great Terror and Astonishment, he beheld the Figure of his *executed Friend* ; with a Kit in his Hand, upon which he was *tweedling* ; a Violoncello at his Back ; and round his Neck a Cord, at the Bottom of which hung a *green Bag*, with seemingly a great weight in it. His Face appeared much distorted, and of a ghastly Pale ; his Jaws considerably sunk, his Neck stretched full half a Yard ; his Hair sticking from his Ears, four Inches, at least ; and

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his Arms even more enervated than when alive. After playing a slow Movement in *six Flats*, he thrice shook his frizled Locks; and with a low Voice and great Solemnity (the Tears seemingly streaming from his Eyes) he thus began—

O thou! who wert once my good Friend, listen attentively to what I now relate, knowing that no Untruths come from the Dead (here he sighed bitterly).—While I was alive, my greatest Foible was Vanity; and thinking my Talents equal, if not superior to most People's, I, by that Means, often became the just Subject of Ridicule. My Obstacity in refusing to do Justice to the *Fortes* and *Pianos* is now my Torment. But the Weight of this *green Bag*, which (alas) I try to shake off, but in vain, is the greatest Punishment of all! Oh, that I never had been quarrelsome!—that I had been *piano* all my Life!—that I had never so ambitious been as on an Elephant's huge Back to ride, with Tweedledum's great Head in a green Bag! this ne'er had happened! still I had been alive!—but hark! methinks I hear his Organ's hum!—'tis *my* dread Summons!—straight I must appear, and meet the Giant Spectre Face to Face!

*Farewel, my Friend! farewel! remember me!
And pity the sad Fate of Tweedledee!*

The Ghost here glided away in a Minuet Step, and the Strings of the Kit and Violoncello breaking at the same Time, gave a most hideous Crash.

A MOURNFUL BALLAD found in his POCKET after his EXECUTION; which he intended to have sent to his Sweet-heart the Night before.

My dearest Molly, lovely Maid,
Oh, pity my sad Case;
For thou hast got a tender Heart,
Tho' ancient is thy Face.

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Ah! think on wretched Tweedledee!
Whose Hour is nearly come;
Who now is laid in durance vile,
For killing Tweedledum.

To-morrow on the fatal Tree
Thy Tweedledee must swing:
Wou'd heav'n! that I in truth had been
A mere *Brown Paper* thing.

O then my Legs they'll pull and stretch,
As kicking I am seen:
When from the Cart I'm turned off,
All on the Castle Green.

What tho' my Neighbours said that I
In keeping House was mean?
'Twas but to lay more Money by
For thee, my lovely Queen!

Three halfpence to my Maid I gave
In time of Christmas cheer,
And said she freely might *regale*
On Cowheel and small Beer.

O Toby! Toby! that thy Oath
Shou'd doubly fatal prove;
To make *me* fight, and thus to rob
My Molly of her Love!

But dearest Molly! do not grieve!
Nor shake thy *silver'd* Head!
I still thy true Love will remain,
Either alive or dead!

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And near the Walls of *Paradise*¹
Beside thy well-known door ;
My Spirit still shall wander, where
My Body did before.

Now ponder well, ye Lovers dear,
As my sad Fate ye see !
Fiddlers, beware with whom ye fight,
Remember Tweedledee.

The above is a corrected Copy of a Paper found in a Gentleman's Letter-Box this Morning.

OXFORD, *Dec.* 23, 1780.

¹ Paradise Garden in *Oxford*.

Here the MS. ends. Perhaps its writer tired of the subject ; perhaps there was nothing else for him to copy. The main importance of the quarrel, so far as the history of the Music Room and the concerts given there is concerned, is the indication of the presence of faction and bad feeling amongst the staff that it supplies, and the presumption that Hayes' overbearing disposition had much to do with this state of things. It is very possible that this is the clue to the misfortunes that befell some ten years later.

In concluding this account of the Music Room and its musicians during this period, it may be interesting to picture to ourselves the proceedings of one year, and for this purpose we may take the year 1775 as an average

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and typical year. It began with the ordinary round of Monday Concerts, and the first excitement was the principal violin's benefit on March 2. Rather more than a fortnight afterwards (March 20) came the annual performance of the "Messiah." Then came the annual notice of the terms of subscription, and the support that was to be forthcoming in the ensuing twelve months was doubtless the cause of much conjecture and discussion. The beginning of April was marked by a very unusual occurrence, a benefit concert for one of the members of the band. The favoured musician was Jackson, who on this occasion performed a concerto for the flute and a concerto for the horn.¹ Soon after Easter came the preliminary announcement of the "Oxford Annual Music." But there was much to be done before that. On May 15 Crosdill, the great violoncello-player, played at the weekly concert, and on the following Monday came the choral music for the Term in the shape of Handel's oratorio "Athaliah." These functions over, the Commemoration Music began to absorb attention. There were three concerts this year, Handel's "Judas Maccabæus" on July 5, Leo's "Dixit Dominus" on July 6, and a "Miscellaneous Concert" on July 7. The

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 1, 1775.

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“bright particular star” of the occasion was Signora Davies, “Inglesina,” but there were many other players and singers engaged who had come from a distance, and it may well be imagined that there was much greeting of friends, and many a hospitable entertainment given by the local musicians to the distinguished visitors from London. After this, a month of comparative calm followed, ending in Malchair’s second benefit concert, on the Tuesday in the Race Week (August 8). The holidays followed, and the Oxford musicians probably combined business with pleasure by playing at the festival at Gloucester.¹ When the concerts were resumed for the winter, the first thing which would excite special interest would be Monro’s benefit (Nov. 16). As usual he laid himself out for novelties. There was a clarionet concerto and an overture for horns and clarionets. But the band was probably most interested and most critical over an overture by a new composer called Haydn. After this, Handel resumed his sway, and the choral music for the Term (Nov. 27) consisted of “L’Allegro” and “Il Penseroso,” with a “Miscellaneous Act.” Signora Davies was again the chief singer. This would, in the ordinary course, have been the last of the

¹ Jackson’s *Oxford Journal*, Aug. 12, 1775.

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extraordinary concerts for the year, but it happened that Christmas Day fell on a Monday, and accordingly the weekly concert was postponed till Dec. 26, and the programme included "Some of the Songs and principal Choruses in the 'Messiah.'" It is not difficult to guess what these were, and as one surveys the year's work it is impossible not to envy the quiet artistic life of these eighteenth-century musicians.

There were, however, troubles in store. Cox, in his "Recollections of Oxford,"¹ states that in 1789, "in order to support the attempt to revive or keep up the languishing Music Room, *Master Crotch*, 'The Musical Prodigy,' was regularly engaged to play a concerto on the Organ at the weekly Concerts." Surely this was an inaccurate statement. At any rate Crotch only played twice in the Lent Term² of 1789, and the later programmes of the year, so far as they have been preserved, do not contain any mention of him. The first sign of any difficulty in maintaining the concerts is to be found in the following announcement, which appeared on Feb. 5, 1789:³ "The Committee, with great Concern,

¹ Second edition, p. 1.

² "Oxford Concert Bills," Bodleian Library.

³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 5, 1789.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe inform the Publick that the necessary Expences of the Musick Room have for some Time past so much exceeded the Receipts that it will not be in their Power to continue the Concert without some extraordinary Assistance. It is therefore proposed . . . to have a Concert for the BENEFIT of the Room on *Thursday*, February the 26th. . . . If by the Encouragement shewn in the present Conjunction, it appears to be the Wish of the Ladies and Gentlemen of Oxford and its Vicinity that this Concert, which has been so long supported, should be continued, the Committee will endeavour to adopt such a Plan as may be most likely to answer that Purpose." In a repetition of this advertisement on Feb. 21 it is added, "N.B.—By particular Desire *Master* CROTCH will play a CONCERTO on the ORGAN between the Acts." What measure of success attended this enterprise is not recorded, but the stewards evidently felt that changes were inevitable. Instead of the usual issue of the Articles of Subscription came an announcement that they would be prepared as soon as possible, and that, meanwhile, there would be a concert on Monday, March 30 (the day that in the ordinary course of things would have been the first concert-day under the new subscription), admission to which would be 2s. 6d. each.

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When the terms of subscription did appear on April 11, they contained some revolutionary changes. The concerts, instead of being given during ten months of the year, were in future to be given only on Mondays in Term time. There were, however, to be six nights of Choral Music or Grand Miscellaneous Concerts, two in each Term, on successive evenings,¹ "in which some capital Performer, either vocal or instrumental, shall be engaged." Subscribers had heretofore had a ladies' ticket free. Henceforward they would have to pay an extra half-guinea for it.

It is not very easy to conjecture why the support accorded to the concerts had so seriously fallen off. The programmes, so far as known to us, had shown no deterioration. In the year that had just closed (Lady Day 1788 to Lady Day 1789) the singers had included Mrs. Ambrose (three times), Miss Theodosia Abrams (twice), Mrs. Billington (four or five times), Signor Marchesi, and half-a-dozen performers of less note. Crotch had played at least twice, and Hummel once. The "Messiah" had been given twice, "Acis and

¹ The plan of having concerts on successive evenings was ultimately adopted and continued to be the rule. It seems to have been first tried as an experiment on March 20 and 21, 1787, and adopted as part of the regular system on Nov. 19 and 20, 1787.

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Galatea" once. Subscribers had also had an opportunity of hearing a grand pianoforte, then a novelty (Nov. 27, 1788), Haydn's Symphony in G, beginning with the horns (Feb. 23, 1789), and a new symphony by C. Stamitz, with clarionets (Nov. 27, 1788; Feb. 26, 1789). No doubt the dispute between Hayes and Monro was only one of many similar wrangles which destroyed the unanimity of the orchestra and took the heart out of the undertaking; and both this quarrel and the circumstances which attended the ultimate revival of the concerts suggest that it was found almost impossible to work satisfactorily with Hayes. Almost all of those who founded the Music Room must have been dead by this time. Their successors seem to have thought more of *virtuosi* than of art, and sometimes manifested their opinions in very unpleasant forms. In 1785 Madame Mara was prevented from finishing her performance in the Sheldonian Theatre by an uproar.¹ Two years later the Articles of Subscription contained the following new clauses² :—

“To which the following are added by the Direction of the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Proctors :

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 9, 1785.

² *Ibid.*, March 24, 1787.

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“That no Performance, whether Vocal or Instrumental, be repeated.

“That if any Person shall offend against the above Articles, or otherwise Misbehave during the Concert, he shall be excluded from the Music Room for the Remainder of the Year, his Subscription (if a Subscriber) shall be forfeited, and his Name erased from the List of Subscribers.”¹ It must not be forgotten also that the times were bad, and that even the modest guinea subscription may not have been within the means of many who would have been glad to pay, had they been able.

Whatever were the causes, the subscription list did not fill. On May 2 it was announced that “The number of Subscribers not being yet sufficient to enable the Stewards to begin the Concerts as proposed on Monday next, such Persons as intend to become Subscribers are desired to give in their Names at Mr. Hawting’s in Holiwell before Friday the 8th Instant, when it will be finally determined whether the Concerts are to be continued or not.” The days which followed must have been anxious times for the stewards, and, above all, for the players in the orchestra. At last the sword fell—“The Number of Sub-

¹ Future programmes generally contained a note calling attention to the prohibition of encores.

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scribers appearing by no Means adequate to the Support of the Concerts such Subscriptions as have been received will be immediately returned.”¹ How the concerts were, after a while, revived, will be told in the next chapter.

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 9, 1789.

IV

SUSPENSION OF THE CONCERTS

WHEN the weekly concerts were discontinued in the spring of 1789, they had been carried on for forty years and nine months. The next period in the history of the Music Room (1789-1819) is somewhat shorter, and is, probably, not so much a definite epoch in the actual course of events as a clearly marked section of our knowledge of them. During the first period, it is only occasionally that a programme can be discovered; for that which is now to be considered, two very full collections of programmes, embracing the larger part of the period, are extant. One of these is in the Bodleian Library, and is bound in two volumes called "Oxford Concert Bills." The first volume contains at the beginning four tickets for the concerts given at the Encænia of 1818, followed by the words of a song by Miss Linley dated April 29, 1771, but the regular series begins with the programme of October 20, 1788. A large number of programmes, arranged in order, follow in due course, the last of them relating to the concerts at the Encænia

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of 1793. Then follows a gap of more than six years. On resuming at the end of 1799, the collection contains a set of programmes which must be almost, if not quite, complete up to 1819. There can be little doubt that this collection was made by a man named John Walker, who matriculated at Brasenose on January 14, 1788, aged 17, so that the earlier section of the programmes would roughly correspond with his undergraduate career. In 1797 he became Fellow of New College, and would naturally resume his patronage of the concerts. He became one of the stewards of the Music Room, and in the collection is a list of subscribers for the years 1809 and 1810, addressed to him on the back. In 1819 Mr. Walker, who was one of the founders of the *Oxford University City and County Herald*, was presented to the living of Hornchurch in Essex, and so his collection of programmes naturally terminated in that year. The other collection is in the possession of the writer. It begins with the programme for October 23, 1797, and with the exception of the eleven months, from July 1800 to June 1801, it is practically complete up to the close of the year 1819. The earlier programmes are bound in two volumes; those of the later years are loose. The two collections combined contain an immense amount of information,

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and, whereas in dealing with the early history of the Music Room the main difficulty was to obtain facts, the special difficulty which makes itself felt in treating of the second period is to condense the materials that are available into reasonable limits.

Whatever may have been the reasons which compelled the stewards to suspend the weekly concerts in May 1789, they were certainly formidable. It was nearly three years before it was found possible to re-establish the weekly concerts in any shape, January 26, 1792.¹ Moreover, this experiment only achieved a transient success, and it was not till May 1, 1793, nearly four years after the concerts had been suspended, that they were re-started successfully on the old lines. On the other hand, it seems clear that the stewards cherished all the time a fairly confident hope that it would be possible to pull things round, and that, in the strength of this belief, they contrived to keep up their organisation and to avert the dissolution of their band. Only three weeks after the notice that announced the suspension of the concerts, they advertised that there would be "A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music at the Music-Room on Thursday

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 10, 1791; Dec. 17, 1791; Jan. 7, 1792; Jan. 14, 1792; and Jan. 28, 1792.

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next and every succeeding Thursday till further Notice.”¹ Nothing was said as to how the expenses were to be met, as to the reason for changing the concert day from Monday to Thursday, or as to the prices of admission. When three weeks more had passed by, they reinforced this essay by announcing great doings at the ensuing Commemoration.² There were to be three grand concerts in the Music Room on June 24, 25, and 26. Signora Storace, who had never sung in Oxford before, was to sing. “The celebrated Mr. Reinagle,” who seems on this occasion to have made his first appearance in the town in which he was to settle and to live so long, was to play the violoncello, and the trumpet parts were to be entrusted to Messrs. Attwood and Drover. A notice of the performances that appeared in the *Oxford Journal* a week later (June 27, 1789), after remarking that Signor Benucci³ volunteered his assistance, and that the enthusiasm of the audience led to many *encores*, adds, “The Stewards of the Room are entitled to the Thanks of the Company for their pleasing Musical Treat; and we doubt not, from the crowded Audiences that attended each Night,

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 30, 1789.

² *Ibid.*, June 20, 1789.

³ Benucci was the basso in the original performance of Mozart's “Figaro” in 1786.

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they will greatly re-establish the Credit of the Room." This paragraph may have been "inspired," but, whether this is so or not, the stewards stuck to their guns. They allowed Malchair a benefit on July 13, they gave a concert on the second day of the races,¹ and, when October Term came, they allowed Malchair another benefit on November 18,² gave a miscellaneous concert on November 20, and awarded Jackson, the flute and horn player, a benefit on November 26.³ After these demonstrations of their energy and enthusiasm, they made in December a fresh appeal for the re-establishment of the Subscription Concerts, offering to give six concerts in Lent Term, eight in Summer Term, and six in October Term, in return for an adequate number of two-guinea subscriptions. This appeal was persisted in for two months,⁴ but was nevertheless unsuccessful, and for the next two years the only concerts given were concerts for the benefit of various members of the orchestra. The great majority of these concerts were held in the Town Hall, and, when the Music Room was used, the intimation that it would be "properly aired" suggests that it

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Aug. 1, 1789.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1789.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1789.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1789; Feb. 13, 1790.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe was no longer regularly used for concerts. It is possible that the stewards organised these benefits, and found in them a means of keeping their orchestra together. That it was kept together in some way is forcibly suggested by an advertisement in the *Oxford Journal* for October 29, 1791, in which Mr. Inchbald informs the public that "since a Vacancy presented itself by the Death of Mr. Monro, Principal Violoncello, he is come to reside in Oxford, with the Permission of the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor and the Approbation of Dr. Hayes, Professor of Musick." Six weeks later,¹ a notice was issued stating that "A Private-Concert will be opened at this Room on Thursday evening, January 26, 1792, if by that time one hundred Guineas shall be subscribed; the same will be continued every Thursday, except in the Long Vacation and Passion Week." The subscription was fixed at one guinea per annum, and one shilling besides for each admission. A week later, some further particulars were published. Attendants were to be "stationed at two Bars" to take tickets. The performers were "not permitted to repeat any piece otherwise than directed by the composer." No benefits were to be allowed to performers "unless their

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 10, 1791.

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salaries shall prove deficient." It was added that "the number of Subscribers yesterday evening was one hundred and two." The description of the concerts as private, the attention drawn to the collection of tickets, and the objection to *encores*, seem to indicate that disorderly conduct on the part of a section of the audience had been one of the reasons that had brought about the suspension of the performances. Some objection seems to have been taken to the prohibition of benefit concerts. At the beginning of the New Year,¹ the stewards put out an explanation of their position, from which some pieces of interesting information can be gleaned. The salaries are estimated to amount to £500 a year, and the expenses to about £120 more, "Which sum there would be no probability of raising were extra concerts to be allowed for the benefit of particular persons." The concerts were to begin at 6.45 and to end at 8.45—"No person to take a dog into the room." "Mrs. Munday is engaged to sing in the Concerts." On January 14 the names of one singer and of sixteen instrumentalists, with whom engagements had been concluded, were published,² and it was added that "the Professor

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 7, 1792.

² The singer was Mrs. Munday, the players were Malchair, Webb, Hardy, Inchbald, Jackson, Jung, Woodcock, Wall, Shimmey, Weaver, Vicary, Feldon, Hester, Joy, Hatton, Hayward (Jack-

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of Music will conduct the Band and furnish Boys from the Quires." So at length the concerts were revived. "Last Thursday Evening the Music Room here was opened under the new Subscription, when the Company was select and highly respectable. At this Concert Mrs. Munday (late one of the Miss Mahons) made her first public Appearance and received the highest Applause; and the whole Performances gave universal Satisfaction."¹ Unluckily few particulars of the enterprise thus inaugurated are available, except that, after all, a benefit concert was allowed (to Malchair) on February 27, 1792. There is no mention of concerts at the Encænia or in the Race Week this year; perhaps they were not considered as lying within the scope of "private concerts." But, at the beginning of 1793, it becomes clear that difficulties still beset the path of the stewards. On January 19 they gave notice that the present managers would close their accounts on January 26 at 10 A.M. A month or so later, February 16, they invited subscriptions for another series of concerts, to begin on the first Thursday in March and to be continued on Thursdays. The subscription

son's *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 14, 1792). Shimney was a clarionet-player, Weaver a flute-player, and Hatton a bassoon-player (*Ibid.*, April 28, 1792).

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 28, 1792.

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was fixed at a guinea and a half, and the extra shilling for each admission seems to have been abolished. This proposal was unsuccessful. On March 16 "The Stewards of the Music Room give notice that the Number of Subscribers amounting to 110 only, they cannot undertake to reopen the Concert. The Subscriptions will therefore be returned at Mr. Gillard's." But again the announcement of the abandonment of the concerts was followed almost immediately by an attempt to resuscitate them. On April 27¹ the public were informed that "The Stewards of the Music-Room have for the Accommodation of the University and the Neighbourhood now taken on themselves the entire Management of the CONCERT, and submit the following Articles to those who wish to promote such an Establishment." The terms proposed scarcely vary from those advertised in February, but the day for the concerts is changed from Thursday to Monday, thus reverting to the practice which had prevailed from 1748 to 1789. The statement as to the entire management being now undertaken by the stewards, a statement that was repeated more than once in subsequent years,² suggests that the difficulty had all

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 27, 1793.

² e.g. Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 3, 1794; Nov. 19, 1796.

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along been friction between Hayes and the stewards, and that the latter, it may be conjectured, had grown weary of the domineering temper of Hayes, and finally determined to emancipate themselves from him, and to rely on the clever young organist of Christ Church to take his place.¹ They opened the season with a concert on Wednesday, May 1, only four days after issuing the terms of subscription, so that they probably felt sure of success in their present venture. The report of this concert informs us that the performers included Miss Poole, the celebrated Giornovich, Bezozzi,² Caravoglia, and the Lindleys, a remarkable galaxy of talent.

The regular weekly concerts, according to an advertisement issued on May 4, began on May 13 instead of May 6, "at the Desire of many of the Subscribers." Malchair had ceased to lead at this time, and on May 25, 1793, it was announced that "Mons. Alday, who

¹ The following account of the changes about this time is to be found in Crotch's "Malchair," p. 48: "Malchair . . . resigned. John Mahon, I think, lead for a little while. Soon after, Dr. Hayes was disgusted by a tumult or Row in which his pupil Mr. Webb now of St. Paul's, was insulted. Alday was made leader in y^e room of J. Mahon, and W. Crotch was applied to to preside at the Harpsichord, which he retained till the year 1805. Marshall lead for some time with him after Alday."

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 4, 1793. Bezozzi is doubtless the celebrated oboist, Gaetano Besozzi.



DR. WM. CROTCH
From an engraving in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley



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was the celebrated Performer on the Violin in Paris, and whose musical Talents have met with such general Approbation in the Metropolis here, is engaged at our Subscription Concerts and will lead the Band on Monday next." There were two celebrated French violinists, brothers, named Alday. This is doubtless the younger brother, who had come to London some two years before. It was added that "a good Soprano Voice will probably be engaged in the Course of next Month."¹ The concerts at the Encænia in the year 1793 were on an exceptional scale. Four were given in the theatre with a band of sixty and a chorus of something like eighty.² The expense was nearly £2000. Hayes conducted the performances, and perhaps organised them, and the curious uproar that prevented the performance of his Ode from being completed³ may again be an indication of feuds and disputes connected with the Music Room. The stewards seized the opportunity, after their last concert for the Term on July 8, to induce the Chancellor, the Duke of Portland, to become a subscriber to the weekly concerts.⁴

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 25, 1793.

² *Ibid.*, June 15, June 29, and July 6, 1793.

³ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1793.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1793.

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The paragraph that contained the announcement added that the concerts would be resumed in Michaelmas Term, and that "no Pains will be spared to add Elegance to the Room and render the Concert brilliant. Mr. Alday, who in the Musical World stands amongst the first Violin Players, a Female Singer, and some other Performers will be added to the Band." The singer proved to be a Miss Radcliffe, who was announced to appear first on Oct. 21,¹ and had a benefit concert on March 27, 1794.² The choral music for October Term was Handel's "Acis and Galatea." This was performed on Nov. 18,³ and was followed, according to the plan which had become customary, by a Grand Miscellaneous Concert the next day. For these concerts, besides Miss Radcliffe, Miss Parke, one of the best young singers of the day,⁴ Messrs. Bartleman, Webb, and Pring, and additional chorus singers were engaged to sing, and the orchestra was augmented by Madame Alday, the harpist, "lately arrived from Paris";⁵ Parke,

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 19, 1793.

² *Ibid.*, March 22, 1794. Miss Radcliffe afterwards (by 1803) became Mrs. Russell. Lee Williams and Chance's edition of Lysons' "Annals of the Three Choirs," p. 82.

³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 16, 1793.

⁴ Lee Williams and Chance's edition of Lysons' "Annals of the Three Choirs," p. 74.

⁵ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 19, 1793.

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one of the best oboe-players of the time; Reinagle, the principal violoncello-player in Salomon's Orchestra when it was directed by Haydn; Lavenu, the viola-player; and Tibet, the violinist. At the choral music in the Lent Term of 1794 some of the same players were engaged,¹ as was also "Linley," that is, in all probability, Robert Lindley, the celebrated violoncello player, who was principal at the Opera and at all the chief concerts in London for nearly sixty years (1794-1851). Alday, by a variation of previous usage, was given a benefit concert on the next day. An interesting feature of this winter is that on Jan. 2, 1794, a concert was given in the Town Hall for soldiers' and sailors' widows and orphans, "by a voluntary Offer of the Musicians belonging to the Oxford Music Room," which realised £22, 4s.²

The concerts, thus happily re-established, seem to have proceeded successfully till the spring of 1796, but then further troubles presented themselves. "April 11, 1796. At a Meeting of the Stewards of the Music Room holden this Morning to examine the State of their Finances, it was found absolutely necessary in order to maintain the small Prospect

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 15, 1794.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1793; Jan. 4, 1794.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe that remains of continuing the Concert, to make known to the Public, and particularly to those Families who are desirous that the only Amusement of the Place be not lost, That on *Wednesday* next, the Twentieth Instant, will be a CONCERT . . . for the BENEFIT of the ROOM, as the only Means of enabling the Managers to make up the Deficiency of the present Year.”¹ There is a note of discouragement in this announcement that appears here for the first time. But the appeal proved successful, a remarkable fact considering the strain on the resources of the country at the time. The statements made with regard to the resumption of the concerts are not very explicit, but it would appear that performances were only given in the latter half of the Summer and Michaelmas Terms, and that the beginning of the financial year was pushed back from the commencement of the Summer Term to the commencement of Michaelmas Term. The notices given were :

(1) On May 21, that the “present Subscription Concert” will commence on Monday next, and

(2) On Nov. 19, after a statement of the terms of subscription, that “the Room will be opened on Monday next . . . with a

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 16, 1796.

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Choral Concert." To this was added an intimation that "Those Ladies and Gentlemen who advanced their Subscriptions in May last, are requested to take Notice, that the Year is to be considered as commencing from the first Concert this Month." This plan of commencing the subscription at the opening of the Academic Year in October seems to have been maintained till the Michaelmas Term of 1813.¹ The season of 1797 and 1798 commenced on Nov. 20, that of 1798 and 1799 on Nov. 26, that of 1799 and 1800 on Oct. 14, and that of 1800 and 1801 on Oct. 13.

From this time forward (1796), though an occasional appeal was necessary, *e.g.* on Feb. 4, 1800, the Concerts went on, with the solitary exception of Michaelmas Term, 1813, regularly year after year to the end of the period now under consideration (1819)—an astonishing circumstance considering the state of Europe for the greater part of the time. But the twelve years following the discontinuance of the concerts in 1789, though filled, as we have seen, with numerous and ultimately successful efforts to resuscitate them, witnessed the dis-

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 19, 1814. The room had not been opened in Michaelmas Term, 1813, according to a MS. note by Mr. Walker in his collection of programmes in the Bodleian.

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appearance of most of the old performers, and the introduction of many modifications in the details of the arrangements.

Amongst these changes the most important was the retirement of the veteran leader of the band, John Baptist Malchair, which took place about 1792. His irascible colleague, Monro the 'cellist, died in 1791, during the suspension of the concerts, and was succeeded by a man named Inchbald,¹ of whom, however, little information is forthcoming. He seems to have remained only about three years, and to have been succeeded by Reinagle in 1795.² Another old veteran of the Music Room Band, E. C. Orthmann, Monro's predecessor, also died during these troubled years.³ The two notable singers who had been the prop of the Music Room for so many years also passed away during these years. William Matthews, one of the "Yeoman Beadles in this University" and a bass singer of great fame, who was one of the singers at the Handel Commemoration of 1784, died on Nov. 25, 1791.⁴ Another link with the past was snapped by the death of Thomas Norris in 1790.⁵ He was one of the finest

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 22 and 29, 1791.

² *Ibid.*, May 30, 1795.

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1792.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1791.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1790.

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singers in England,¹ and had been connected with the concerts in Oxford ever since 1767, when he was appointed as singing man at Christ Church, in place of Henry Church deceased. His health is supposed to have been undermined by excesses, and there can be little doubt that this was hinted at in the following obituary notice of a leading player of the early period.² "Last Monday died, after a lingering Illness, Mr. Joseph Starkey, First Oboe in the Oxford Band; which Appointment he had held for many Years. His ready Wit and remarkable Vivacity had introduced him into Company, who regret his Loss, as one of those cheerful, thoughtless Companions who are said to be 'no one's Enemy but their own.'" "Alas! poor Yorick."

It has been suggested that during the suspension of the regular concerts the stewards found means of keeping their orchestra together by organising benefit concerts. The advertisements of these performances give us the names of a good many of the players, and occasionally some curious information also. The years 1791 and 1792 contained benefits for Hardy, P. Jackson, Hatton, R. Wall, Woodcock,

¹ *Guide d'Oxford*, par Philippe Jung, 1789, p. 90.

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 9, 1791.

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Jung, Hayward, Malchair, Orthmann, and Matthews. The last three of these have been already mentioned. They all dated back to the earliest period of the Music Room. Philippe Jung was a Viennese who had settled in Oxford, where in 1789 he published his French *Guide d'Oxford*. His career seems to have been chequered. In 1791 he kept a music shop in the High Street.¹ By February in the next year he had "taken a House in St. Mary Hall Lane," where he sold music and instruments—also "Fishing Tackle of all Sorts, and artificial Flies made of any Kind whatever."² In the April following he had taken a house on "the New Parade in the High Street."³ A year later (April 1793) an advertisement appeared stating that "A convenient Dwelling House, situate in Holywell, Oxford, opposite the Musick Room," containing an "exceeding good Billiard Table" was to let and that particulars could be obtained at "Mr. Jung's Musick Shop, High-Street."⁴ It seems possible that the "exceeding good Billiard Table" was in the curious building that still (1910) stands on the eastern side of Bath Place, where it joins Holywell, though at a later

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 22 and Dec. 10, 1791.

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1792.

³ *Ibid.*, April 21, 1792.

⁴ *Ibid.*, April 13, 1793.

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period it was a public bath, from which circumstances the lane gets its name. Unluckily for Jung, his multifarious enterprises brought him no success, and in April 1796 he became a bankrupt.¹ However, he recovered himself, and by March 1798 was living in Holywell and keeping the billiard table.² In 1806, and probably for many years before, he was a teacher of French and German,³ and in 1808 he published the volume of programmes already mentioned.⁴ He was a violinist, and was probably the principal second violin in the Music Room Orchestra for some twenty years (1789–1808). He appears to have been a friend of Haydn, whom he induced to assist at the benefit concert of one Hayward, a member of the Music Room Orchestra. The advertisement of this concert, which took place on May 18, 1791, announced “the Harpsichord by Mr. Haydn, from Vienna, who comes entirely to serve this Concert, and is returning to London the next Morning.” The day came, but Haydn did not. This appears to have caused much chagrin, and on May 21, 1791, Hayward inserted the following explanation in Jackson’s *Oxford Journal* :—

¹ Jackson’s *Oxford Journal*, April 23, 1796.

² See programmes of March 8, 1798, and of April 22, 1799.

³ Jackson’s *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 22, 1806.

⁴ A copy of this is in the Bodleian Library, 174. g. 106.

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“Mr. Hayward . . . is exceedingly sorry for the Disappointment occasioned by Mr. Haydn’s not attending the Musick Room that Evening, contrary to a solemn Promise given, as he had actually said, he would be ready to get into the Carriage with the Singers, and Mr. Buntebart,¹ who was to have come with him at an early Hour; but when the Carriage went to take him up at Lisson Green, near Paddington, he begged Mr. Torezani to acquaint Mr. Hayward, that he was obliged to attend a Rehearsal of an Opera that Morning, but that he would follow afterwards in a Post Chaise, so as to get to Oxford by Seven o’Clock. Why he did not come Mr. Hayward will endeavour to learn, in order to give every satisfaction imaginable to the Company present that Evening at the Room.” The result of Mr. Hayward’s endeavours was that the *Oxford Journal* of May 28, 1791, contained the following apology: “Whereas at the Request of Mr. Jung, an Acquaintance of mine from Vienna, I faithfully promised to play the Harpsichord at Mr. Hayward’s Benefit Concert the 18th Instant (*which Day I had appointed myself*), but was prevented from coming

¹ Buntebart was one of the “Twelve Apostles,” a name given to the company of foreign workmen who first made pianofortes in this country.

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on Account of a Rehearsal at the Opera House, which lasted from Two till Half past Four on that Day, I take the Liberty by this Paper to express the greatest Sorrow for not having been able to stand to my Promise. As the University of Oxford, whose great Reputation I heard abroad, is too great an Object for me not to see before I leave England, I shall take the earliest Opportunity of paying it a Visit, and hope at the same Time to make a personal Apology to those Ladies and Gentlemen who were kind enough to honour Mr. Hayward with their Company.—JOSEPH HAYDN.”

At the ensuing Encænia Haydn came down to Oxford, where he conducted a performance of his “Oxford” Symphony, which was almost certainly rehearsed in the Music Room, and took the degree of D.Mus. Strangely enough, the *Oxford Journal*, in its account of the proceedings, dismisses the matter with the curt remark that “the Honorary Degree of Doctor in Musick was also conferred on Joseph Haydn, Esquire.”¹ Does the foregoing incident give the explanation of this singular reticence? Of Hayward, the main figure in this incident, nothing else seems to be known, nor has it been found possible to discover

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 9, 1791.

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anything of interest about Wall. William Woodcock seems to have been at first a singer who lived in the Turl. He had two benefits in 1791.¹ He subsequently became a viola-player.² In 1799 he became Organist of New College on the death of I. Pring,³ was admitted D.Mus. in 1806, married Mrs. Katharine Bricknell on November 9, 1797,⁴ and died in 1825, being succeeded as Organist of New College by Alfred Bennett of Chichester. He conducted the music at Orthmann's funeral (p. 87). Paul Hatton was a native of St. Clement's, and a musical instrument maker there.⁵ He and his brother Joseph were the regular horn-players in the orchestra,⁶ and he also played the serpent at the Oxford Musical Festival of 1805.⁷ He appears to have been a restless spirit. In 1793, he explains that his business would not be interrupted by his being "called from Oxford in the Military line." He and his brother left Oxford for Cheltenham and prospered there. The following curious notice is to be found in Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, of September 11, 1819: "Last

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 28 and Dec. 3, 1791.

² *Ibid.*, June 15, 1805.

³ *Ibid.*, October 5, 1799.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1797.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1793, and May 31, 1828.

⁶ Jung's "Concerts . . . at the Music Room," 1808.

⁷ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 15, 1805.

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week died, at Liverpool, after a short illness, Mr. Jos. Hatton, late of this city, musician. This young man, accompanied by his brother Paul (into whose minds a dislike for everything in their native country had been early instilled), left Cheltenham a few days ago, where they were gaining a comfortable subsistence, for the uncertainty of bettering themselves in America. On their arrival, however, at Liverpool, Joseph was taken suddenly ill, and died in a few hours, leaving a widow and three children. His brother has proceeded on his voyage to the 'Land of Promise.'"¹ H. Hardy had studied the violin under the elder Pinto,² and was "engaged by the Gentlemen of the Musical Society as a Resident Violin Player in their Band," in 1781. He succeeded to Matthews' music business in the High Street, opposite All Saints' Church in 1792.³ He became a member of the Oxford Loyal Volunteers, from which he was subsequently expelled for insulting the adjutant.⁴ He seems to have been a rather unsatisfactory character altogether, and the last we hear of him, in 1804, is that he

¹ The "Land of Promise" seems to have brought him misfortune (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 31, 1828).

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1781.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1792.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1800.

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had gone to live near Carfax, where he had Musical Instruments for sale, belonging to Gentlemen of the University who had gone down.¹ The list of the performers engaged by the stewards in their partially successful revival of the concerts in 1792² gives the following additional names—Webb, Shimmey, Weaver, Vicary, Feldon, Hester, and Joy.³ The result of all this is that, though the concerts were suspended, the band was not dispersed, though its older members were fast dropping off.

When the concerts were regularly resumed in 1793, the main features of the earliest history were reproduced, though, as already stated, it would appear that the connection between Hayes and the concerts came to an end about this time. Alday, the new prin-

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 7, 1804.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1792.

³ For Webb, see p. 124. Weaver was a flute-player, and Shimmey a clarionet-player (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 4, 1791, and April 28, 1792). Vicary seems to have ultimately become conductor (Jung's "Concerts," 1808). Feldon seems to have been organist of St. Peter's-in-the-East (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 22, 1815); he was a bassoon-player in the band, and probably lived till 1832; "Daniel Feldon, musician, St. Clement's," died August 14 (*Ibid.*, Aug. 18, 1832); he had apparently fallen into evil ways, and was adjudged to pay £25 for an assault on Mrs. Pettyfer in St. Clement's in 1827 (*Ibid.*, March 10, 1827). Hester seems to have been a violinist, and to have died in 1835 (*Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1835).

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cial violin, who began his duties on May 27, 1793, was subsequently joined by his wife, an excellent harpist.¹ He appears to have remained about three years,² and to have been succeeded by a Mr. Mahon, doubtless one of the famous family, after whom came Mr. Marshall, about 1801.³ Reinagle was perhaps the leading 'cello-player at the beginning, at any rate he had a benefit on May 14, 1795.⁴ But he seems to have left Oxford again for a while, his place being taken by Francis Attwood⁵ from 1796 to 1800, when he returned.

The first singer engaged during these closing years of the eighteenth century was Miss Radcliffe, 1793,⁶ who filled this position for

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 19, 1793.

² He had a benefit on March 4, 1796 (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 27, 1796).

³ Mahon appears to have had his last benefit on Nov. 30, 1800, and Marshall to have had his first on Dec. 3, 1801.

⁴ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 9, 1795.

⁵ For the name see Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 21, 1807. His last benefit appears to have taken place on March 14, 1800. He was probably a relative of Thomas Attwood, many of whose compositions were introduced into the programme of the violoncello-player's benefit concerts. It would seem likely that he was a relative of some Oxford family. He himself lived in the High Street (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 23, 1799), but there were Attwoods mentioned about this time as living in St. Aldate's (*Ibid.*, March 28, 1807), and a Mrs. Attwood, aged 79, died at her son's house in the High Street in 1798 (*Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1798).

⁶ Her first benefit seems to have been on March 27, 1794.

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several years (till 1797).¹ Then came a Miss Newman (1798), a resident in Holywell, followed next year by Mrs. Hindmarsh,² if indeed these two names do not indicate the same singer. Another singer who appears to have had a permanent engagement at this time was Mr. Liddell, a bass singer, belonging to Christ Church and St. John's choirs,³ who was connected with the Music Room for many years afterwards.⁴ A singer named Spence also appears not unfrequently, and had a benefit on April 29, 1795.⁵ The concerts were probably under the direction of Crotch, who was elected Professor of Music in the spring of 1797,⁶ thus restoring the old practice of the professor being the director of the band in the Music Room. He appears to be first advertised as the director of the band on May 17, 1794. It would seem that Hayes organised a musical festival on a great scale at the Encænia of 1793.⁷ But he would appear to have lost money by it, which was hardly strange, considering that he employed an

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 18, 1797.

² *Ibid.*, June 2, 1798, and May 18, 1799.

³ His Christian name was Richard, and apparently his first benefit was on July 18, 1798 (see Concert Bills).

⁴ He died in 1829 (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 12, 1829).

⁵ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 18, 1795.

⁶ *Ibid.*, March 25 and April 29, 1797.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 29 and July 6, 1793.

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orchestra of sixty and a chorus of eighty. Only half of an Ode by him was allowed to be performed owing to the interruptions of the audience, and from that period he seems to have taken little active part in the music of Oxford.¹

Three "Choral Nights" and three "Grand Miscellaneous Concerts" seem to have been given in the course of each year, usually on successive nights. The tendency to prefer a miscellaneous programme to a complete work, to which we have already alluded, appears more distinctly than ever. Still, "Acis and Galatea" was performed on Nov. 18, 1793, and the principal parts of "L'Allegro and Il Penseroso" on July 1, 1794.² The "Messiah," however, seems to have been superseded by selections of sacred music, mostly from Handel, in 1795 and 1797,³ though it was again performed in 1798 and 1799.⁴ The season seems to have been somewhat shortened at each end. It ceased on July 11, in 1793,⁵ and did not begin till Nov. 21, in 1796.⁶ The

¹ He died on March 19, 1797 (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 25, 1797).

² See Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 9, 1793, and June 28 1794.

³ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1795; Feb. 25, 1797.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1798, and Feb. 2, 1799.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 13, 1793.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1796.

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custom of giving a concert in the week of the races appears to have been given up, though it was again adopted in 1801.¹

The performers at these special concerts included, as before, most of the best available talent of the day. Amongst the singers are to be found:—

Mrs. Bland. ²	Miss Comer from Bath. ¹⁰
Mrs. Harrison. ³	Miss Tennant. ¹¹
Mrs. Mountain. ⁴	Miss Davies. ¹²
Mrs. Second. ⁵	Mr. Barthelemon. ¹³
Madame Mara. ⁶	Mr. Bartleman. ¹⁴
Miss Cantelo (Mrs. Harrison). ⁷	Signor Caravoglia. ¹⁵
Miss Poole (Mrs. Dickons). ⁸	Mr. Harrison. ¹⁶
Miss Parke. ⁹	Mr. Incedon. ¹⁷

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 11, 1801.

² *Ibid.*, May 17, 1794.

³ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1794.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1795.

⁵ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1798.

⁶ *Ibid.*, April 20, 1799; June 1, 1799; May 10, 1800.

⁷ Oxford Concert Bills, Nov. 23, 1801.

⁸ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 4, 1793.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1793.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1798. She afterwards became Mrs. Ashe (Lee Williams and Chance's edition of Lysons' "Annals of the Three Choirs," pp. 79 and 91).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 21, 1800. Miss Tennant was afterwards better known as Mrs. Vaughan. Lee Williams and Chance's edition of "Annals of the Three Choirs," p. 80.

¹² *Ibid.*, June 15, 1793.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1793.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1794.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1793.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1794.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, June 4, 1796.



MADAME MARA

From a contemporary engraving in the collection of Mr. A. M. Bradley

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And the instrumental players comprise :—

Giornovich. ¹	Besozzi (Oboe). ⁵
Cramer. ²	Holmes (Bassoon). ⁶
Master Pinto (11 years old). ³	John Parke (Oboe). ⁷
The Lindleys. ⁴	

Many of these performers appeared two or three times.

The music of these closing years of the eighteenth century was marked by little change. The chief feature worth noting is the complete recognition of Haydn's music. Part of the "Creation" was given on May 23, 1800, though the entire work was not performed till the next century.⁸ But his instrumental music had fairly gained a hold on the public. His symphonies were quite commonly performed during the years 1797 and 1798, an "Overture with the Austrian Retreat" was performed on May 10, 1799, and Mrs. Hindmarsh, in

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 4, 1793.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 19, 1796.

³ He was the grandson of Thomas Pinto, was aged eleven at this time, and died in 1806, thereby prematurely closing a career which, according to Salomon, might have been equal to that of Mozart. *Ibid.*, March 10, 1798.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1793.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 4, 1793.

⁶ *Ibid.*, June 16, 1798.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1793.

⁸ *Ibid.*, June 13, 1801.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe announcing her benefit¹ concert "in the present subscription," adds: "N.B.—Mr. Salomon has kindly offered her for that Night a Grand Military Symphony and a New March composed by Dr. Haydn." Pleyel also seems to have been a favourite composer, and more quartetts appear in the programmes of these years than had previously been the case. At the very end of the century traces are to be found of some admirer of Purcell. "Come if you Dare" was included in the programme of June 8, 1798, and "Let the Dreadful Engines" in that of June 20 in the same year. A selection from "Macbeth" appears in the programme of Jan. 27, 1800,² and from "King Arthur" in those of March 17 and 31, 1800. Local circumstances show themselves in two or three places, as in the performance of "A Glee" and a string trio by the then Marquis of Blandford,³ and the number of compositions by Callcott that were performed on his visit to Oxford to take the Degree of Doctor of Music in 1800.⁴

Reinagle also produced a new string trio

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 18, 1799.

² It is worth remarking, perhaps, that this music is described in the concert programme as being composed by Locke.

³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 23, 1799. See also the programme of March 14, 1800.

⁴ See the programmes of June 18 and 19, 1800.

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on June 9, 1800. The appearance of "Adeste fideles" as a solo in the middle of summer (June 20, 1798)¹ strikes us as curious, and it is interesting to find it mentioned as a special attraction for the concert of Feb. 28, 1799, that a grand pianoforte had been procured.² For the rest, the echoes of the great European War are perpetually making themselves heard in these programmes. "The Musicians, belonging to the Oxford Musick Room," gave a concert for soldiers' and sailors' widows and orphans on Jan. 2, 1794.³ A deeper note of emergency is to be found in the Concert for the "Subscriptions in Aid of Government," for which all the performers gave their services (March 8, 1798). Later on in the same year (Oct. 11) the Music Room and military bands united to give a performance for the widows and orphans of those who fell in the Battle of the Nile.⁴ The musicians of the day were engaged in writing martial music for a nation in arms. The celebrated "Battle of Prague" was arranged for orchestra.⁵ Rein-

¹ This was called the "Portuguese Hymn," the words were given in Latin, and it was sung by "Master Cox," that is to say, in all probability, G. V. Cox, subsequently Esquire Bedel of the University, and author of "Recollections of Oxford."

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 23, 1799.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1793.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1798.

⁵ Programme of Dec. 5, 1799.

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agle's "Battle Piece," played over and over again in subsequent years, made its first appearance on July 4, 1798,¹ and was accompanied in the same programme by three "Marches" and three "Quick Steps" written for the Oxford Loyal Volunteers, one by Reinagle, one by Mahon, and one by the Professor of Music himself.² A very similar programme is to be found three weeks afterwards (July 25, 1798).³

Yet, in spite of the tremendous conflict with Napoleon and the exhaustion that followed it, the first twenty years of the nineteenth century were, on the whole, years of tranquil prosperity for the concerts in the Music Room. The stewards had completely vindicated their authority to determine what should be performed and who should perform it. A notable instance of their discipline is to be found in the following paragraph from Jackson's *Oxford Journal*.⁴ "Mr. Marshall, having earnestly solicited the Stewards to be re-admitted into the Orchestra, is engaged for the Remainder of the present Subscription." As Marshall was

¹ See the programme of this date.

² Crotch, though a very little man, held a commission in this corps, and was promoted ensign in 1803 (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 8, 1803).

³ See the programme of that date.

⁴ Feb. 1, 1806.

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leader of the band it is clear that the stewards' control over affairs was firm and decisive. They also succeeded in re-asserting their right to direct the Music Festival at Commemoration, which had apparently fallen into the hands of Hayes (see pp. 125 and 140), and at the installation of a Chancellor.¹ The plan of the concerts underwent several changes during these years, which suggest that they were becoming more of artistic and less of social gatherings. The concert in the Race Week was finally abandoned after 1801,² though a concert for the benefit of some musician was frequently given in the Town Hall for several years after this.³ Another very definite change was the abandonment of performances of oratorios in their entirety. "Judas Macabæus" was given on March 8th, 1802, "Samson" on Feb. 28, 1803, and the "Creation" (at Commemoration) on June 16, 1801. "The Messiah" was also, in most years, performed towards the end of Lent Term. But the only other choral work on anything like an extensive scale that appears in the pro-

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 23, 1809; Dec. 19, 1812.

² *Ibid.*, July 11, 1801.

³ *Ibid.*, July 24, 1802; July 23, 1803. See also programmes of Aug. 2, 1809, and Aug. 7, 1811. The race meeting was probably decaying. It was cut down from three days to two in 1816 (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Aug. 3, 1816).

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grammes is the favourite "Acis and Galatea."¹
The "Choral Nights," though still continued
in name, ceased to be, in fact, distinguishable
from the Miscellaneous Concerts.

The finances of the concerts and the personnel
of the orchestra in these early years of the last
century can be fairly well ascertained. The
stewards put forward the following appeal for
support on Feb. 4th, 1800:² "The Stewards
of the Music Room are sorry to be under the
Necessity of representing to the Subscribers,
and the University and City at large, that the
present State of their Fund is wholly inadequate
to the necessary Expences of the Concert.

"By the Plan of the Institution no fixed Salary
is ensured to the Performers; but each depends
intirely for what he is to receive upon the
contingent produce of the Fund: the small
Amount, however, of the Subscriptions for the
present Year (being only 141), and the little
Attendance given at the Concerts, do not hold
out to them any Promise of Subsistence.

"The Stewards, therefore, are desirous, in
Justice to the Performers and their Families,
to give this Statement of the Finances of the

¹ See programme of Feb. 18, 1805, and Jackson's *Oxford Journal* of Feb. 8 and June 14, 1817. See also the programme of March 22, 1819.

² See Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 8, 1800.

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Room, and they take the Liberty of submitting to the Consideration of the Public—whether after a commodious Room has been built and furnished at a great Expence, and the Orchestra has been provided with a complete Set of Instruments and Books; and after a Band of Instrumental Performers, of acknowledged Abilities in their Profession, has been collected; they will suffer the Room and its Furniture to be rendered useless, and the Performers to be dispersed, by withdrawing their Support from an Institution which has been established upwards of 50 Years, and which provides so much rational and elegant Amusement at an Expence comparatively inconsiderable.” Then, after an announcement of Concerts on the 10th and 17th of February follows the intimation: “If the additional Subscriptions and Attendances should not be sufficient at the last Concert above-mentioned to ensure the necessary Payments to the Performers, the Stewards must be compelled to shut up the Room, and the Subscriptions paid for the present Year will, if required, be returned. Should the Concert be continued, a Female Performer of Eminence will be engaged, as soon as it appears that the Receipts are likely to answer the Expence.”

The response to this appeal amounted to

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some 300 subscriptions. Two or three years later, at the beginning of October Term, 1802, it was stated that "the present Subscription [was] totally inadequate to the increased expences of the year," and the subscription invited was £1, 11s. 6d. for a single ticket, and £2, 2s. od. for a ticket to admit a lady also. A daring experiment was made in the two years commencing Michaelmas 1804. Twelve concerts were given in the course of the year. They were on an extensive scale, and closely resembled the Grand Miscellaneous Concert of previous years, and the performers were usually London musicians. All other performances were abandoned. This novel scheme was perhaps due to Crotch. At any rate it came to an end in the year (1806) that he left Oxford. It was entirely unsuccessful, as might have been expected, in improving the financial situation, as the following balance-sheet (pp. 152, 153), though somewhat mysterious, clearly proves.

As a result of this failure the old plan of the concerts was restored in Michaelmas Term, 1806. External aid was only invoked for the "Choral Nights," the weekly concert being performed by the permanent staff. A great number of glees, for which the resources of the numerous choirs of Oxford gave excep-

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tional facilities, played henceforward a great part in the programmes. It seems odd that they should not have been found there earlier, but, except during the year 1803-4, they are seldom mentioned in the programmes till this date. The plan proved successful. The Room was refitted in 1807,¹ and in 1808 Jackson's *Oxford Journal* stated² that "We are happy to announce that the reports of shutting up the Music Room are erroneous, for the subscriptions never came in more rapidly." Philippe Jung, in his little book before mentioned, published in 1808, a copy of which is now in the Bodleian Library,³ gives the names of the stewards and of the subscribers for the year between Oct. 1807 and Oct. 1808. From this compilation it appears that at this time there were 126 subscribers, headed by the Chancellor and the High Steward of the University. Of these, ninety-six were resident members of the University. The remainder of the subscribers were ladies, persons living in the city or its vicinity, and a few people (such as Lord Eldon) whose connection with the enterprise was to all appearance only official. There were also nineteen stewards,

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 7, 1807.

² June 25, 1808.

³ Catalogue, 174. g. 106.

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An Intimation having been made to the Stewards of the Music Room, that an increased Support of the Musical Establishment might be expected, if the Nature and Amount of its Necessary Expenses were generally understood; the following Statement having been approved by them, is submitted to the public Inspection.

EXPENCES OF THE MUSIC ROOM FROM MICHAELMAS 1804 TO DITTO 1805

Subscription and Concert Accounts.	Vocal Performers.	Additional Instrumental Performers.	Chorus.	Printing and Lighting.	Doorkeepers, Constables, Porters, &c.	Taxes, Rents, Insurance, Fine, &c.	Tradesmen's Bills.	Subscription, &c.	Salaries.	Total Expences.	Receipts.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Subscription										613 14 6
November 5th and 6th, 1804 . . .	95 0 6	25 4 0	11 12 0	15 0 5	7 1 6					153 18 5	161 7 0
November 26th and 27th, ditto . . .	126 0 0	7 7 0	11 12 0	14 7 9	5 13 6					165 0 3	148 16 0
February 18th and 19th, 1805 . . .	94 10 0	26 5 0	11 12 0	13 12 3	7 10 6					153 9 9	122 17 0
March 18th and 19th, ditto . . .	93 9 0	37 16 0	11 12 0	13 9 3	7 4 0					163 10 3	141 6 0
May 6th and 7th, ditto . . .	90 0 0	3 13 0	6 11 12 0	13 2 3	6 2 6					124 10 3	122 17 0
May 30th and 31st . . .	70 7 0	21 0 0	11 12 0	11 9 9	6 0 0	26 7 0	52 5 0	645 16 1364 9 9		488 18 4	85 18 0
Due to Performers, 1 Half Quarter									52 1 3	..
Total . . .	569 6 6	121 5 6	69 12 0	81 1 8	39 12 0	26 7 0	52 5 0	645 16 1364 9 9	1364 9 9	1421 17 3	1396 15 6

Received . . .

1396 15 6

25 1 9

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two from Christ Church, and one from every other college, except Lincoln and Hertford, which did not provide one. Hertford College was on the verge of dissolution at the time; why Lincoln College should have been unable to find a steward does not appear. The bulk of the stewards were subscribers, but, strange to say, no fewer than five of them, viz. those representing University, Balliol, Exeter, Queen's, and Wadham, do not appear in the list of subscribers. On May 31, 1811, a fly-sheet, now in the possession of Mr. Madan of Brasenose, was issued by the stewards, in which the number of subscribers is given as 268. Of these 235 were members of the University, including five official subscribers in the shape of the Chancellor, the High Steward, and the Vice-Chancellor. Of this total of 235 furnished by the University, Christ Church contributed twenty-eight, and Brasenose no fewer than forty-two. The total number is a great improvement on the figures given by Jung. The town furnished twenty-three subscribers, and the county seven. Three ladies, probably relations of Heads of the Colleges, appear among the members of the University. There were to be sixteen concerts, six of which should be choral. The latter were to be in different parts of the Term, "if it should

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prove practicable," which does not seem to have been the case. The subscriptions were to be the same as the previous year, namely, for a gentleman's ticket, two guineas; for a lady's ticket, one guinea and a half; for a gentleman and lady's ticket, three guineas. But in spite of this promising statement, difficulties again occurred, and on Nov. 27, 1811, a fly-sheet was circulated among the subscribers pointing out the necessity of retrenchment.¹

MUSIC ROOM, *November 27th, 1811.*

An erroneous belief being prevalent that the Stewards of the Music Room stand pledged to the Subscribers to engage a Female Singer for every Common Concert, they beg to refer the Subscribers to the Original Proposals.

The Stewards engaged no further than "that there shall be Sixteen Concerts, Six of which shall be Choral."

Nevertheless, for the satisfaction of the Subscribers, the Stewards adopt this mode of informing them, that there exists no longer a choice as to the manner in which the Common Concerts are to be conducted for the present year; for the Funds of the Room are wholly inadequate to support the heavy expence which the regular engagement of a Female Singer would occasion.

Again the glee was the readiest means of making good the defect. "We understand it to be the intention of the Stewards to get

¹ Concert programmes, Nov. 27, 1811.

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up some of the old Catches and Gleees, and to bring forward the strength of the Orchestra, in performing a constant variety of the valuable music which the Music Room possesses—a plan which we hope will succeed. The subscriptions are increasing rapidly.”¹ After all, a female singer appears pretty frequently in the year 1812, but, in spite of this, the Music Room did not open as usual in Michaelmas Term, 1813,² and when a new subscription list was set on foot in the Lent Term of 1814, it offered only twelve concerts, six of them to be choral. The subscription was to be two guineas, and was to be paid in January. The following year, 1815, witnessed a new system of concerts, which began with “the First Concert under the *late* System,” on *Tuesday*, Jan. 31, and was followed by “the First Concert under the *new* System” on Feb. 6.³ The main distinction appears to be that in the concerts under the old system, assistance was obtained from outside Oxford, while those under the new system relied on local talent, and consisted of gleees and orchestral works only. There appear to have been eight con-

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 23, 1811.

² MS. note in Mr. Walker's "Concert Bills."

³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 28, 1815. It is worth notice that Jan. 30, the day of King Charles' martyrdom, was still avoided.

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certs on each system. This experiment appears to have only lasted one year, 1815, and to have been followed by a return to the system of weekly concerts and occasional choral nights. Once again a manuscript note on a programme (Feb. 14, 1815), stating that it was for the use of "the Stewards of 14 Febr.," seems to throw some light on the arrangement of the programmes in practice.

At the end of this period another difficulty in the way of funds presented itself. There was some difficulty in obtaining subscriptions for the year 1819, and for the first time there were signs of weakness in the management, a circumstance which may be connected with Mr. Walker's departure from Oxford in the summer.¹ At the end of the year, two "Common Concerts" were still due to the subscribers. This liability the stewards proposed to discharge by an extra choral concert at the beginning of February 1820.² In spite of many impediments, the concert ultimately came off on Feb. 29, when Mrs. Salmon, according to the advertisement, made her last appearance in Oxford before her departure for the continent.³ The stewards also proposed to give eight choral concerts and eight other

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, July 3, 1819.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 29, 1820.

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 15 and Feb. 26, 1820.

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concerts in the new subscription, but this was probably not carried out. Certainly they announced at the end of the programme for Feb. 29, that the subscription concerts would not commence until Michaelmas Term. This meant that there was a suspension of the concerts for the greater part of 1820, and the second period, like the first, closes with an interruption of the performances. At this point the collections of programmes cease, and henceforward there is only Jackson's *Oxford Journal* to provide regular information.

Of the staff of the Music Room there is much more information obtainable during this period than at any other time. Jung's little book, published in 1808, which has been already mentioned, gives the names of all the players in the orchestra. There were eighteen of them, as follows :—

First Violins . . . Messrs. Marshall (Leader), Jackson,
and Tebbit,¹

Second Violins . . . Messrs. Jung, Hester, and Hemming.²

¹ For Marshall, see later, p. 184 *seq.* "On Wednesday last died at Headington. . . aged 77, Mr. Wm. Tebbett, musician, 48 years in the service of the late Duke of Marlborough" (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 19, 1832).

² For Jung, see p. 132. He was alive in 1810, when he received the subscriptions, but his name does not appear in 1811. The following may refer to Hester: "Died at his house near Magdalen Bridge, in this city, Mr. John Hester" (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Sept. 19, 1835).

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Viola	W. Woodcock, M.B. ¹
Violoncello	Mr. Reinagle. ²
Flute	Mr. Jackson. ³
Clarionets	Messrs. J. and C. Haldon. ⁴
Horns	Messrs. P. and J. Hatton. ⁵
Trumpet	Mr. Drover.
Double Bass	Mr. H. Haldon. ⁶
Bassoons	Messrs. Feldon, Joy, and Wilkins. ⁷
Drums	Mr. Joy.

The absence of oboes is quite inexplicable, and one can only conjecture that the oboe parts were played by the clarionets. Perhaps the influence of Mahon in the last quarter of the eighteenth century is responsible for this extraordinary circumstance.

The chorus is described as "Eight Canto Chorus, Four Alto Chorus, four Tenors, and six Bass Chorus," about the size of a large

¹ It is noticeable that the word Mr. is not prefixed to the names of those possessing degrees.

² See later, p. 186 *seq.*

³ For Jackson, see p. 78.

⁴ "James Haldon, Musician, died at Cheltenham" (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 30, 1829).

⁵ For some account of these two Hattons, see p. 136, and Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 31, 1828.

⁶ "Hiram William Haldon, many years a member of several choirs in this University, died May 15, 1843, aged sixty-one" (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 20, 1843).

⁷ Daniel Feldon, musician, of St. Clement's, died Aug. 14, 1832 (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Aug. 18, 1832). Apparently he had been fined £25 for an assault on Mrs. Pettifer in St. Clement's (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 10, 1827). He, or another musician of this name, seems to have been organist of St. Peter's-in-the-East.

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cathedral choir at the present time. The regular staff of solo singers, omitting the occasional visits of singers of eminence, seem to have consisted of some three or four boys, and Messrs. Haldon and Liddell. These were probably included in the number of the chorus given above. The whole was conducted by Walter Vicary, M.B. Again the word *Mr.* is omitted.

There was a female singer engaged annually for the greater part of this period. The position was held in succession by Miss Mortimer¹ (1802 and 1803); Miss Clarke² (1803 and 1804); Miss Walker³ (1806 and 1807); Miss Davies⁴ (1808 and 1809); the Misses Bolton⁵ (1809 and 1810);⁶ Miss E. Bolton again (Lent Term, 1811), and Miss Darby (Easter Term, 1811).⁷ Several of these ladies resided in Oxford during the term of their engagement,⁸ but it is believed

¹ Her first appearance seems to have been on Nov. 1, 1802. See also the programmes of Feb. 7, 1803, and of June 27 in the same year. She married one Bellegarde (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 1, 1823).

² Her benefit took place on March 8, 1804.

³ Her last appearance seems to have been on Nov. 23, 1807.

⁴ Her benefit took place on May 11, 1809.

⁵ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 28, 1809.

⁶ Their benefit took place on March 26, 1810. See programme of that date.

⁷ Her benefit took place on May 28, 1811.

⁸ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 6, 1809; March 17, 1810; and May 18, 1811.

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that Miss M. Bolton, the more famous of the two sisters, remained in London, leaving her sister to do most of the Oxford work.¹ Of the men, those who appear to have been permanently retained are Liddell,² a bass, who had, it would seem, devoted much attention to glee-singing; Haldon, Wilkins, Woodcock, and Sheppard. Several of these were also members of the Band.

The first violin during this period, with the exception of a short time during the winter of 1805 and 1806, for which see page 146, was W. Marshall,³ and the principal violoncello, Joseph Reinagle. Both were capable performers and keen musicians. Of this the programmes are a convincing proof. They must have also been on excellent terms with each other, as instead of having separate benefits, as had previously been the case, they combined in 1807 and gave two concerts on successive days. They continued this plan till 1812, after which the old plan of

¹ Miss M. Bolton, pupil of Lanza, first appeared at Covent Garden, aged seventeen, on Oct. 8, 1806. She married Lord Thurlow, Nov. 13, 1813, and died at Southampton, [Sept. 28,] 1830 (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Oct. 2, 1830).

² Richard Liddell, member of the choir at Christ Church and St. John's, died Dec. 10, 1829, aged sixty-five. He was described as having possessed a fine bass voice (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Dec. 12, 1829).

³ See programme of May 15, 1807.

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separate concerts seems to have been restored. Marshall set up a music shop in the High Street, perhaps opposite All Saints' Church, in 1812.¹

The performers engaged for special concerts during the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, consisted, as in the eighteenth century, of the best singers and instrumentalists of their day. Two old favourites, Madame Mara² and Mrs. Billington,³ appeared at the beginning of the century, but on the whole there was plenty of enterprise and plenty of novelty. The names of Miss Stephens (the Countess of Essex), Mrs. Mountain, Miss Parke, Signora Storace, Mrs. Ashe, Miss Tennant (Mrs. Vaughan), Mrs. Salmon, Mrs. Dickons, and Miss Lyon (Mrs. Bishop) are familiar to any one who is acquainted with the history of music, and they all visited Oxford a great number of times, some of them annually for many years. Madame Catalani, whose astonishing voice created such a sensation throughout Europe, came twice to Oxford in the course of these years (Nov. 27 and 28, 1807, and June 10 and 11, 1812), and was received there with

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 24, 1812.

² See programmes, Feb. 16, 1801, March 9, 1802, and Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 12, 1802.

³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 4, 1803.



MISS STEPHENS
From a line engraving in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley



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the same enthusiasm that she aroused elsewhere.¹

Amongst the men, the first place must be given to the famous Braham, who was a constant favourite. Besides him, Vaughan, Bartleman, Welsh, Knyvett, Sale, Harrison, Bellamy, and Goss all appeared at the Music Room from time to time. Indeed Vaughan and Bellamy seem to have sung at Oxford in most years, and Bartleman appears frequently in the programmes. Amongst the minor celebrities are to be found such excellent artists as the Misses Cantelo, Miss Griglietti, Mrs. Bland, Madame Bianchi-Lacy,

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 5, 1807, has a notice of her performances which is sufficiently curious to be given *in extenso* :—

“On Friday and Saturday in the last week the Music Room was graced by Madame Catalani. This elegant Syren seems to have poured forth all the treasures of her sweet sounds, with peculiar fascination, into the bosom of Isis; for never at the Opera, or in any of her Concerts, did she display more science, or warble with more native melody than here. On Friday evening she gave her beautiful air, ‘*O quanto l’anima,*’ twice, and was applauded with bursts of rapture. But she sang to the heart, more than to the ear, while her voice languished in ‘*Lungi dal caro bene.*’ On Saturday her Pollacca was so delightful, that human nature could not resist the temptation of an encore, though her great exertion should perhaps have pleaded her excuse. Of ‘*Hope told a flattering tale,*’ it were vain to say anything, since enough cannot be said. They who have heard her cry ‘*Al tempio, al tempio,*’ will think the same of her grand recitative; and they who have not heard her would conceive but ill of her excellence from a feeble description. She concluded with ‘*God save the King,*’ thrice told—yet still invoked again. The *naïveté*

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the Demoiselles de Lihu,¹ Madame Foda, Signor Naldi, Signor Morelli, and the buffo singer Matthews. The instrumentalists, though less notable than the singers, were nevertheless admirable performers. The violinists included

of her pronunciation was as sweet as her smile, and both gave another and a new grace to the power of her transcendent genius.

“These stanzas were composed in the Room :—

“Thy silver tones, the liquid note,
Soft warbling from thy marble throat,
 May be admir'd by many ;
But dear to me the magic smile,
That plays upon thy lips the while
 O lovely Catalani.

“To mark the music of thy song,
Each Muse, and Sister-Grace should throng
 (If Oxford boast of any),
But dire the din, and dark the crowd,
That frown'd in black, and oft and loud,
 Invok'd thee, Catalani.

“While Beaux in velvet, silk, and serge,
Thy patient ear with nonsense urge,
 And widely stare the many ;
While maids, all pale, and melancholy,
And wives, like widows, seeming holy,
 Glar'd on thee, Catalani ;

“Still didst thou smile, and warble still,
E'en as the lark, so sweet, so shrill,
 That sings unheeding any ;
Like hers, thy notes to Heav'n arise—
Thou art a native of the skies,
 Angelic Catalani.”

¹ Two sisters of German-French extraction, very popular in their day, who left but a transient impression. Lee Williams and Chance's "Annals of the Three Choirs," p. 101.



MADAME CATALANI

From an engraving by Carlson in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

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Pinto (the younger), Mountain, and Janievics ; Lindley ('cello) ; Ashe, Drouet, Weichsell, the elder Nicholson (flutes) ; Griesbach (oboe) ; Holmes (bassoon) ; Madame Dussek (harp), Weippert (harp) ; the two Leanders, then the most celebrated horn-players in Europe,¹ and the two Petrides (horns) ; and Schmidt (trumpet), all played in the course of these years, besides many, all of them famous in their day, of whose fame scarcely an echo remains.

The music announced in the programmes of these twenty years shows a considerable change in the tastes of the audiences. This is only what might have been expected, for the age was, in music, a revolutionary age. It has already been observed that the regular performances of oratorios, which had formed such a salient feature of earlier programmes, after having been fitfully maintained for a short time, did not survive Crotch's departure from Oxford (1806). The "Messiah" was indeed not infrequently performed, though sometimes selections from it took the place of the entire work, and songs and choruses from the "Creation" were heard from time to time. "Acis and Galatea" also retained something of its former vogue, but the regular systematic

¹ Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," vol. 4, p. 319.

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oratorio performance entirely disappeared.¹ Haydn's symphonies were well established favourites at the end of the eighteenth century, but Mozart and Beethoven won the ear of the Oxford audiences much more slowly. A pianoforte concerto by Mozart is found in the programme of Feb. 1, 1802, a "Quartett Flute" in that of Feb. 21, 1803, and a vocal duet in that of March 28 of the same year, but the first of his compositions to become popular was the "Zauberflöte" Overture.² A pianoforte trio was in the programme of June 13, 1808, and a sextette in those of Nov. 21 and Dec. 5, 1808. We may say that he had become completely established in the years 1813 and 1814, though a symphony of his was not given till May 11, 1818. Beethoven's genius was even more slowly recognised. His septett (for flute and strings) was given on Nov. 25, 1811, but it was not till six years later that the Overture to the "Men of Prometheus" was heard, and a symphony first appears on June 18, 1817.

¹ The "Messiah" is found on Feb. 16, 1801; "Judas Maccabæus," on March 8, 1802; "Samson," on Feb. 28, 1803; "Acis and Galatea," on Feb. 18, 1805. Selections from the "Messiah," on March 7, 1814, and Dec. 1, 1819; and from the "Creation" on May 4, 1807, and March 12, 1810.

² See programmes of Nov. 21, 1803; March 14, 1808; Nov. 29, 1808; Dec. 7, 1812; and March 9, 1813.

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This tardy recognition of two of the greatest musicians ever known contrasts strikingly with the ready welcome that Oxford usually gave to new writers (*vide supra*). Perhaps the best explanation of this curious circumstance is that it was due to the disturbing effects of the Great War, as an illustration of which it may be noted that Gretry's Overture to "Panurge," composed in 1785, is called "new" in 1803.¹ Two other composers obtained a hearing in spite of this obstacle—Dussek, with some harp music,² and Steibelt, with his famous "Storm" for pianoforte solo.³ After the conclusion of peace, Cherubini's fine Overture to "Anacreon" became a great favourite,⁴ and that to "Lodoiska" was also performed in 1819.⁵ In the same programme the arrival of a new favourite was heralded by the appearance of the Overture to "Il Barbiere di Siviglia (New), Rossini."

Of earlier composers Purcell appears to have been the chief favourite. "Macbeth," described on one occasion in MS. as by Matthew Lock, was performed four times, and the "Tempest" twice, while excerpts

¹ See programme of May 9, 1803.

² *Ibid.*, May 30 and May 31, 1805.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1806.

⁴ *Ibid.*, April 24, 1815; March 25, 1816.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1819.

The Oldest Music Room in Europe and separate songs, such as "Mad Bess," "Mad Tom," "Come if you Dare," "Arise, ye Subterranean Winds," "Let the Dreadful Engines," and the "Song of the Cold Genius," are common occurrences in the programmes.¹ Pepusch's celebrated cantata "Alexis," Marcello's duet, "Quelanelanti," Boyce's favourite song from "Solomon," "Softly rise, O southern breeze,"² and a great number of Arne's beautiful songs were also included in these programmes, whilst almost every famous glee of the best period in English glee-writing, such as Grevile's "Now the bright morning star,"³ Knyvett's "Merrily rang the bells of St. Michael's Tower,"⁴ Callcott's "Thyrsis, when he left me,"⁵ "Peace to the souls of the heroes,"⁶ and "Forgive, blest shade,"⁷ Webb's "Glorious Apollo,"⁸ "Come, live with me,"⁹ "If love and all the world,"¹⁰ and "The mighty conqueror,"¹¹ Horsley's "See the chariot at hand,"¹² Stevens' "From Oberon,"¹³ "Ye

¹ Programmes of Feb. 4, 1811; March 23, 1819; June 21, 1814; March 22, 1814; Nov. 26, 1804; Nov. 23, 1801; Feb. 14, 1815; June 18, 1817.

² *Ibid.*, June 28, 1808; Feb. 13, 1807; Nov. 19, 1811; Nov. 24, 1806; June 10, 1807; Oct. 31, 1808.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 25, 1811; Feb. 20, 1815.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 24, 1806.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1816.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1816.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1818.

¹² *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1808.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1811.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1807.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 15, 1817.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1819.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1808.

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spotted snakes,"¹ and "Crabbed age and youth,"² Webbe's "Thy voice, O Harmony,"³ and "When winds breathe soft,"⁴ Lord Mornington's "Here in cool grot,"⁵ Danby's "When Sappho tun'd,"⁶ and "Awake, Æolian lyre,"⁷ Cooke's "In paper case,"⁸ "In the merry month of May,"⁹ and "Hark, hark the lark,"¹⁰ Stafford Smith's "Blest pair of sirens,"¹¹ and "Return, blest days,"¹² Spofforth's "Hail, smiling morn,"¹³ and a first version (MS.) of "See our bark," by Sir J. Stevenson,¹⁴ all find a place in the programmes. There are also a number of madrigals, sung gleewise, to be found scattered up and down the programmes of this period. Nor was Bishop's modification of the old English glee unrepresented. The "Chough and Crow," and "Blow, gentle gales," are both to be found there.¹⁵ Songs that have won universal popularity, such as "The last rose of summer,"¹⁶ "Robin Adair,"¹⁷ and "'Twas in Trafalgar Bay,"¹⁸ make their first appearance in these

¹ Programmes of Nov. 23, 1807; Feb. 8, 1808.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 4, 1817.

³ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1815.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1811.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1809; Feb. 10, 1812.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1804; Feb. 22, 1808.

⁷ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1811.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 29, 1808.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1814, and often.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1816.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1815.

¹² *Ibid.*, May 20, 1816.

¹³ *Ibid.*, March 4, 1816.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1819.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1818, and March 23, 1819.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1819.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, May 21, 1812.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, March 3, 1815.

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years. Most astonishing of all to the musical historian is the fact that in the programme of Feb. 27, 1815, there appears a "Symphony" by Sebastian Bach. The stewards certainly provided their subscribers with plenty of the best music of all schools and of all periods.

Of music by local musicians there is sufficient evidence to show that the stewards were anxious to provide a hearing for such composers as the town contained. The chief of course is Crotch. The composition of "Palestine" was foreshadowed by the appearance, on June 13, 1804, of the Recitative and Air "Ye guardian saints," "*The words from Heber's poem of Palestine,*" then the latest of Oxford Prize Poems. The complete oratorio was not produced till 1812, and was not heard in Oxford till 1820.¹ The same composer's famous motet, "Methinks I hear," then just written, is to be found in the programme of Dec. 3, 1801. Less lasting fame has been the lot of another novelty, "Symphony, MS. *by the late — Palmer, Esq. of St. John's College,*" which was announced for Oct. 18, 1802, and a similar oblivion has been the lot of "Overture (New, MS.) A. R. Reinagle," which appears in the pro-

¹ It was not published then (see Jackson's *Oxford Journal* for June 17, 1820).

Suspension of the Concerts

gramme of June 23, 1819. More popular in its own day, though now quite forgotten, was the elder Reinagle's "Battle-piece," which was frequently played during these years, often with slight alterations, and with a title referring to the events of the day.¹ The original form in which it appeared on July 4, 1798, is as follows :—

BATTLE PIECE, composed by Mr. Reinagle, in the following order :—

- 1st. GRAND MARCH.
- 2nd. Word of Command.
- 3rd. First Signal Cannon.
- 4th. The Bugle Horn Call for the Cavalry.
- 5th. Answer to the first Signal Cannon.
- 6th. Trumpet Call for the Cavalry.
- 7th. Galloping of the Cavalry.
- 8th. Recitative accompanied—"Are the troops drawn up?" *Answer*—"They are, according to your orders." "The Cannons, are they pointed?" *Ans.*—"Each man, impatient, stands by his gun." "Then tell each Leader to advance.—Make ready!—Present!—Fire!"
- 9th. The Grand Attack.
- 10th. The Cries of the Wounded.
- 11th. The Bugle Horn Call for the Infantry.
- 12th. Trumpet of Victory.
- 13th. The Retreat.
- 14th. TRIO.—"The sword that's drawn in Virtue's cause."

To conclude with the MARCH in *Blue Beard*.

¹ *e.g.* The Battle of Salamanca (see the programme of March 22, 1813, and advertisement of it on the programme of March 18, 1813).

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This appeared again as the "Battle of Salamanca," in the following shape, on March 22, 1813:—

1. TRIO.—MRS. MOUNTAIN, and MESSRS. HALDON and WOODCOCK.

"The sword that's drawn in virtue's cause,
To guard our country and its laws," &c.

2. March for the Infantry.
3. First Signal Cannon.
4. Music—Consultation of Generals.
5. Bugle-Horn Call for Cavalry.
6. Music to imitate galloping of Cavalry.
7. Second Signal Cannon.
8. RECIT. accom.—Are the troops drawn up? *Answer,*
DUET.—They are, according to your orders.
9. The cannon, are they pointed? *Answer*—Each man,
impatient, stands by his gun.
10. Then tell each leader to advance.
11. Hark! the enemy draws near.

(Enemy plays a March at a distance.)

12. RECIT.—See, they advance apace, and form their line
—Our army in reserve—All to our cause are
friends, and by their generous aid ensure us vic-
tory—Lead on—England's cause is just, to crush
the tyrant of mankind—Success will crown the
fight.
13. Grand Attack.
14. Cries of the Wounded.
15. Trumpet of Victory.
16. Retreat.

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17. SONG.—Mrs. Mountain.

“The soldier, tir'd of war's alarms,
Forswears the clang of hostile arms,
And scorns the spear and shield:
But, if the brazen trumpet sound,
He burns with conquest to be crown'd,
And dares again the field.”

To conclude with GOD SAVE THE KING.

If any one feels inclined to smile at this, let him remember the tremendous character of the war that convulsed Europe at this time, a struggle that moved Beethoven himself to write a not dissimilar piece, “The Battle of Vittoria.” Graver defects in the public taste at this time, at any rate, to our way of thinking, are suggested by the following curious announcement.¹ The italics are in the original:—

Sonata, *Pianoforte*—Master Reinagle . . . Beethoven

(In which will be introduced a favourite Air, with Harp Variations, accompanied on the Violoncello by Mr. Reinagle.)

Nor can we help feeling some surprise and amusement at the astonishing indifference with which sacred and profane music was intermingled in these programmes, often with the

¹ Programme of May 13, 1816.

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most curious results as to the words. Danby's
song—

“ Stay, silver moon, nor hasten down the skies,
I seek the bow'r where lovely Chloe lies,”

was immediately followed by “ And the glory
of the Lord shall be revealed,” from the
“ Messiah,” and Giordani's bravura song,

“ Shun, ye fair, each gay seducer,
Call discretion to your aid ;
Once despoil'd of truth and honour,
Pity flies the ruin'd maid,”

was succeeded by the Hallelujah Chorus.¹ It
is curious to reflect that those who saw nothing
odd in such juxtaposition were at the same
time too scrupulous to hold a concert on
January 30, a custom which certainly survived
till 1815.² As smaller points of interest, the
growing use of the pianoforte for accompani-
ments may be noticed. It was, however, still
thought worthy of special note in 1809.³ There
is also at least one instance of extemporary
performance being included in a programme.⁴

¹ See programmes of March 8, 1808, and Nov. 27, 1809.

² *Ibid.*, January 31, 1804, and 1815.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1809.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1808.

THE END OF THE MUSIC ROOM

THE third period in the history of the Music Room is a gloomy one. Lack of public support is more and more in evidence, till at last the enterprise, so vigorously started in 1748, and so sturdily maintained even during the greatest political and military struggle that ever engaged the energies of the English nation, comes to an inglorious end in 1840. The reasons for this will be considered later on. Our immediate task is to trace the progress of decay.

The regular concerts seem, as already observed, to have been suspended for the greater part of 1820. In the autumn, however, the stewards proposed to open the Room with two choral concerts if they were authorised to do so by the amount of the subscription.¹ A week later a letter appeared, complaining of the declining state of the Music Room and the lack of support from the junior members of the University. But despite these gloomy portents, twelve concerts, of which eight were

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 4, 1820.

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“Choral,” a word that in this period means little, if anything, more than that performers from London were engaged for concerts called by this name, were given in the seasons 1820–1821, and the stewards were able to announce on November 3, 1821, that they had paid all debts and much improved the Room. This last statement appears to refer to great improvements in lighting, including a “superb chandelier, . . . splendidly elegant” which had been purchased in Birmingham the preceding summer.¹ On the strength of this they asked for a continuance of last year’s liberal support, proposing to give again twelve concerts, of which eight were to be “Choral.” The subscription was to be £2, 2s. This season also passed off satisfactorily, and on November 2, 1822, the stewards invited subscriptions for twelve concerts, eight to be “Choral,” in the winter Terms of 1822–1823. They had made a new staircase and doorway into the gallery, and gained nearly fifty new seats by removing the stove and chimney-piece.² A new apparatus, devised by a Mr. Sylvester, for

¹ Jackson’s *Oxford Journal*, June 23, 1821. Mr. Ham, probably the last survivor of the old Music Room Band, declared to the present writer, in 1904, that this chandelier was that which had been used in Westminster Hall at the banquet after the Coronation of George IV.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1822.

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warming and ventilating the Room, had been introduced and was declared to be successful.¹ Perhaps on the strength of these improvements, the subscription was raised from £2, 2s., at which it had stood for the last two years, to the old rate of two and a half guineas. The change does not seem to have been popular. On November 9, 1822, we are informed that subscriptions are coming in badly, and that it is necessary to have 150 more in the course of the next fortnight. Apparently this roused people; at any rate, on October 18, 1823, a year later, the stewards announced that they had done so well in the last season that they could reduce the subscription again to £2, 2s., and further, to add two more "Choral" concerts, making fourteen in all. The result was excellent. On November 8² it was stated that subscriptions were coming in rapidly, and already largely exceeded those of last year. It is claimed that the stewards now give great attention to the production of "modern music,"³ a claim that, so far as we can judge, seems to have been well founded. So far all seemed to be well, though there are some hints of diminishing audiences in the summer of 1824.⁴

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 22, 1823.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1823.

³ *Ibid.*, May 24, 1824.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 24 and July 3, 1824.

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Still the stewards announced the usual twelve concerts for the ensuing season in the autumn.¹ Difficulties, however, seem soon to have made themselves felt. The first pair of "Choral" concerts had to be postponed for a month, and when they were performed on December 1 and 2, were thinly attended, in spite of the fact that earnest appeals had been made for further subscriptions: "as the sum already received is considerably below that at which it has generally been deemed prudent to open the Room."² This bad start seems never to have been made up. The programmes for the year were excellent, the music novel, and the performers admirable; but the stewards complained on May 14, 1825, of the unaccountable indifference exhibited by the public at the last two concerts, which had resulted in a loss of nearly £150.³ The upshot of it all was that they would not open a subscription in the autumn of 1825, as they had lost more than £100 during the previous year.⁴ This was the beginning of the end, though the end itself did not come without strenuous efforts to avert it.⁵

At first it was hoped to clear off the debt

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 16, 1824.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 27, 1824.

³ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1825.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1825.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 29, 1825.

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by concerts on Nov. 14 and 15, and to open a new subscription in January 1826.¹ The concerts had to be postponed (owing to the death of Reinagle?), and again because of the illness of one of the performers.² A concert was given in the Lent Term, but the season 1826-1827 contains only four "Choral" concerts, two in Michaelmas Term, and two in Lent Term. No mention is to be found of any subscription, and the same holds good of the following season, 1827-1828. In the autumn of the latter year another attempt was made to restore the regular concerts.³ The stewards put out a notice in which they stated that it had "long been a subject of great regret . . . that they have been unable to keep up the old system of *Weekly Concerts*," and proposed to re-establish them with the local band. It was proposed to give eight concerts during the winter at a charge of £2, 2s. for a single ticket. This, it was thought, could be achieved, if 200 subscribers could be obtained. This scheme seems to have been only moderately successful, but the following year saw another attempt on similar lines.⁴ It was now

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 29, 1825.

² *Ibid.*, Nov. 12 and Dec. 3, 1825; and Feb. 11, 1826.

³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1828.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1829.

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proposed to give six concerts for a subscription of £1, 1s. provided 130 subscriptions were received, failing which no concerts would be given. This arrangement materialised, but after May 1830 no more is heard of regular concerts,¹ and the stewards confined themselves to giving "Choral" concerts in the winter Terms,² meeting with so little success that on Feb. 17, 1832, they declared that if the concerts were not more successful they would not be able to proceed further. However, some slight improvement must have taken place. After announcing two concerts for Dec. 3 and 4, 1832,³ it is stated that "the two last concerts of the present subscription" would take place on Feb. 14 and 15, 1833,⁴ from which it may be inferred the aims of the stewards had now become limited to four concerts in the course of the season, and this is avowed by them in the Michaelmas Term of 1833.⁵ This plan was pursued till 1836, when the last concerts given by the stewards took place on Feb. 16 and 18,⁶ and "the

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 8, 1830.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 29 and Nov. 19, 1831; Feb. 18 and 25, 1832.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 17 and Dec. 1, 1832.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1833.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1833.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1836.

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company present did not average 100 on those evenings.”¹ Such was the melancholy and inglorious end of the concerts, after having lasted eighty-eight years.

An institution that had lasted so long does not cease all at once without leaving traces behind it. It was not till 1840 that the stewards ceased to be tenants of the Music Room,² and it is likely that they exercised some sort of control over music in Oxford at an even later date. On Nov. 18, 1837, they announced a concert by a touring party in the Assembly Room at the “Star” on Nov. 30. Mr. Marshall advertises his concert in the Town Hall on March 8, 1838, as “By the permission of the Stewards of the Music Room.” The same notice is to be found in the case of his concert at “The Star” on Feb. 22, 1839, and a very similar phrase is employed with reference to Sharp’s concert at the same place on Dec. 28, 1838. Perhaps these players were still under some kind of contract with the stewards, but this will hardly explain the similar announcement of Miss Lockey on Nov. 7, 1840. The Musical Festival at the Encænna seems to be under their direction as late at least as 1844.³

¹ Jackson’s *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 20, 1836.

² *Ibid.*, May 9, 1840.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1844.

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It is difficult to assign any definite reason for this sudden downfall, though it may be argued that its main cause was that the stewards had neglected to keep up their own orchestra of men living in the place and had relied too much on performers imported from London. Still, these imported performers, as will presently be shown, were excellent players and singers, so that it is not easy to see why the public should on a sudden have ceased to support the concerts. Mr. Ham, probably the last survivor of the old Music Room Orchestra, in which he played second horn, was inclined to attribute the change to the increased facilities of communication with London, which made people look down on their local performers, but the railway to Oxford was not opened till June 12, 1844,¹ and it was not till June, 1840, that it approached as near as Steventon.² Again, it may, to some extent, have been due to the political disturbances of the time, but graver national crises than those which preceded and followed the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 had in earlier times scarcely affected the Music Room concerts. On the whole it is more likely that the change was due

¹ "Railway Chronicle Travelling Charts" (Top. 8°. 408).

² Bourne's "Great Western Railway," p. 43.

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to the influence of the "Oxford Movement." To this cause the Rev. W. Tuckwell, in his "Reminiscences of Oxford,"¹ seems disposed to ascribe the neglect into which the art of music fell at this time in Oxford, though one would adjudge him unaware of its previous flourishing condition. The men of that time themselves must have been similarly ignorant. When, in 1846, a performance of "Samson," got up by Sir Frederick Ouseley and H. S. Havergal, took place in New College Hall, astonishment was expressed that "in a place like Oxford, abounding with well-trained choirs, nothing like an Oratorio (except at the great festivals) has ever been attempted before,"² an assertion which can be received only with amazement by readers of the foregoing pages. But there is no doubt as to the almost complete lack of interest in musical art that fell upon Oxford soon after 1825. It was at this period, as Sir Frederick Ouseley informed the writer, that Gaisford, when Vice-Chancellor, had all the valuable instruments of the Music School removed and burnt in the Quadrangle of the old Schools.³ It cannot be thought strange

¹ p. 78.

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 21, 1846.

³ This story must, however, be inaccurate in detail, as Gaisford was never Vice-Chancellor.

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that such a generation should, to the great loss of those who came after them, have allowed the Music Room concerts to fall through.

It has been already suggested that the staff of the Music Room was rather carelessly kept up at this period, but in the absence of any collection of programmes, such as guided us up to 1820, it is unsafe to be too confident on this point. Still, it is likely that during this period no singer was permanently attached to the establishment. What is known of the rest, as in previous years, mainly concerns the principal violin and the principal violoncello, Marshall and Reinagle, who seem to have begun together in Oxford about 1801. William Marshall was a pupil of Mori, according to Jackson's *Oxford Journal* of May 19, 1821. He led the orchestra from 1801 to the discontinuance of the concerts. Indeed, he continued to give concerts afterwards, and it was not till 1846¹ that it was announced that "Mr. Marshall, who has had the honor of leading the Oxford Orchestra upwards of forty-five years," will take leave of his profession at a farewell concert on Nov. 19. Except for his dispute with the stewards in the winter

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Oct. 31, 1846.

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of 1805-1806, already mentioned,¹ he seems to have been on excellent terms with everybody during his long career. He lived at first in the Cornmarket,² but from 1812 he kept a music shop in the High Street.³ His family had a great deal of musical talent. Frederick Marshall, perhaps a brother, was a pianist, and played a concerto at the Music Room on March 18, 1811. Twenty years later a number of Marshalls, probably his children, came to the front. Of these, Dr. William Marshall, who was a boy of the Chapel Royal and was appointed organist of Christ Church in the room of Cross in 1825,⁴ was the best known, perhaps mainly as a compiler of a famous book of anthem words. There was also a daughter, who became organist of All Saints in 1832,⁵ and was succeeded by her brother George in 1835.⁶

Another daughter of Marshall had been at the Royal Academy, and made a successful

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 1, 1806.

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1812.

³ *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1812.

⁴ His initials were perhaps C. W. See "Dictionary of National Biography." Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 7, 1839, mentions the performance of his Doctor's exercise. The same journal (April 22, 1820) mentions his singing in Oxford as a boy of the Chapel Royal, and the issue of July 2, 1825, gives his appointment as organist of Christ Church.

⁵ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 21, 1832.

⁶ *Ibid.*, April 25, 1835.

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appearance at the London Philharmonic.¹ This was perhaps Miss M. Marshall, a singer of merit.² Besides these, we hear of E. Marshall, apparently a flute-player,³ and J. M. Marshall, a violin-player.⁴ Five members of the Marshall family were engaged in a performance of sacred music in Ewelme Church in 1841.⁵

Joseph Reinagle, the violoncellist, who was Marshall's colleague during most of his career, settled permanently in Oxford a few months before the latter became leader. In all probability he succeeded F. Attwood as principal 'cello about 1800, though he had visited Oxford before.⁶ He seems to have lived to a good old age, as he is called the "veteran Reinagle" in 1825,⁷ in which year he died much respected.⁸ He was succeeded by his son, A. R. Reinagle. The son was really quite as much a violinist as a 'cello player, and as such had made his first appearance as a boy.⁹

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, April 20, 1844.

² *Ibid.*, April 29, 1843.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 26, 1835; Feb. 22, 1840; April 23, 1842; April 29, 1843.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1845.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1841.

⁶ *Ibid.*, June 20, 1789.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1825.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1825.

⁹ See programmes of March 12, 1810, and April 22, 1812. His first benefit took place on March 13, 1826. For his 'cello playing, see Jackson's *Oxford Journal* of March 14, 1829. For his violin playing, see Jackson's *Oxford Journal* of Jan. 24, 1835.



DR. MARSHALL
From the portrait in the Hope collection

The End of the Music Room

In 1828 he lived opposite the Music Room,¹ in one of the stone houses (No. 55, Holywell). Here, after his marriage to Miss Orger, a good pianist, and one of the first lady composers,² he gave concerts of Chamber Music, and one such series is advertised on October 24, 1846. Later on he moved to No. 21, Holywell. Mr. Hayes, of Oriel Street, well remembers going to that house for lessons. He ultimately retired to Kidlington, where he died at the age of seventy-eight, on April 6, 1877. He composed a certain amount of music,³ and was organist at St. Peter's-in-the-East, which gave its title to the famous tune, by which he was best remembered.

Besides these two sterling musicians we have little knowledge of the members of the orchestra during this period. It is possible that one Sharp, who kept a music shop in St. Aldate's,⁴ and subsequently in Broad Street,⁵ and at No. 1, New College Street,⁶ was one of them. But there is nothing de-

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 15, 1828.

² See Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 15, 1845, and Oct. 31, 1846. For Reinagle's house at the time of his marriage, see *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1842, and Oct. 24, 1846. For his concerts see Oct. 24, 1846.

³ See p. 170, and Jackson's *Oxford Journal* of Nov. 16, 1839.

⁴ *Ibid.*, May 1, 1824.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1834.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1844.

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finite to show it, though he certainly gave¹ and conducted² concerts and could lead an orchestra.³ He was appointed city-organist in 1844.⁴

The "capital performers" who came to Oxford to take part in the programmes were of the same high degree of excellence as in previous years, and almost every singer or player of note at the time are included amongst them. Many of these appeared quite frequently. Among those who were oftenest in Oxford were Signora Rosalbina Caradori⁵ (Madame Caradori-Allan), and Miss Stevens⁶ (the Countess of Essex). Catalani revisited the scene of her former triumphs in 1824, though the concert at which she appeared was held in the Town Hall, and was considered as beautiful and as charming as ever.⁷ She sang "Luther's Hymn" (one of her most striking performances),⁸ and "Rule, Britannia." Mrs.

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 15, 1838.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1835.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 27, 1834, and Jan. 29, 1842.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 30, 1844.

⁵ She seems to have appeared first in 1822 (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 9, 1822), and last in 1835 (*Ibid.*, Nov. 28, 1835).

⁶ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 3, 1821. Her last appearance appears to have been in 1826 (*Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1826).

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1824.

⁸ The present writer well remembers hearing his grandfather speak of the remarkable effect of this, as sung by Catalani.

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Salmon also, despite the statement made in 1820 (mentioned on p. 157), sang twice more in the city where she was born.¹ Madame Camporesi, then the reigning *prima donna* in London, sang in 1821.² She only sang once; but a more celebrated singer, Miss Clara Novello, appears frequently, beginning in 1833.³ Amongst the other visitors who appeared from time to time, were

Miss Corri (1821).⁴

Miss Wilson (Mrs. Welch) (1821).⁵

Miss M. Tree (Mrs. Bradshaw) (1822).⁶

Miss Paton (1823).⁷

Madame Ronzi de Begnis (1824).⁸

Madame Stockhausen (1834).⁹

Mrs. Bishop (1832-1836).¹⁰

Miss Shirreff (1833).¹¹

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Jan. 26, 1822, and Jan. 18, 1823. Oxford seems always to have retained a kindly interest in Mrs. Salmon (*Ibid.*, April 8, 1826, Aug. 6, 1842, and May 3, 1845).

² Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 24, 1821. Her real name was Giustiniani. Williams and Chance's "Annals of Three Choirs," p. 100.

³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 2, 1833; Feb. 21 and Nov. 28, 1835. She also sang at a benefit concert, Feb. 28, 1833.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1821.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1821.

⁶ *Ibid.*, April 19, 1823; May 1, 1824.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1823. She subsequently became Lady William Lennox (*Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1826).

⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 24, 1824.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1834.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1832, and Feb. 13, 1836.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 9, 1833. She sang at the Gloucester Festival of 1832. Williams and Chance's "Annals of the Three Choirs," p. 120.

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The men whom the stewards engaged were hardly less distinguished. Amongst the singers are to be found Messrs. Vaughan,¹ Hawes,² Horn,³ T. Cook,⁴ Begrez,⁵ Braham,⁶ Sapio,⁷ who met with a tragic end and never fulfilled his early promise, Bellamy,⁸ De Begnis,⁹ Phillips,¹⁰ Lablache,¹¹ Donzelli,¹² Welch,¹³ and Parry, junior.¹⁴

And amongst the instrumentalists, Nicholson¹⁵ (the elder) the flautist, Harper¹⁶ (the elder), trumpeter, Willman¹⁷ the clarionettist, the brothers Petrides¹⁸ (horns), Cramer¹⁹ (violin), and Stockhausen²⁰ (harpist).

During the latter years of this period the benefit concerts of Marshall and Reinagle became of great importance, and to the list of performers who delighted Oxford audiences

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 3, 1821.

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1821.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 9, 1822.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1823.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1823.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1825.

¹² *Ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1833.

¹² *Ibid.*, Feb. 2, 1833. For Donzelli, see Williams and Chance's "Annals of the Three Choirs," p. 122.

¹³ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 23, 1833.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1835.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1823.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 26, 1825.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Nov. 29, 1834.

³ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1821.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 18, 1823.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1823.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 24, 1824.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1831.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1825.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, June 3, 1820.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1831.



MR. BRAHAM

*From the contemporary engraving by Ridley after Allingham in the collection of
Mr. A. M. Broadley*

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within the walls of the Music Room must be added

Mori (violinist),¹

Grattan Cook,²

Drouet (flautist),³

Lindley ('cellist),⁴

Madame (Mdlle.) Blasis,⁵

and Master Longhurst.⁶

The music of this period is marked by the rise of Rossini, Weber, and Auber. The overtures to "Il Barbiere di Seviglia," "Freischutz," "Oberon," and "Masaniello" were all brought to a hearing.⁷ Winter also, greatly esteemed in his day, was represented by the overture to "Zaira,"⁸ but of Mendelssohn there is no trace, though his overture to Midsummer Night's Dream was performed at the Commemoration of 1834. (See p. 197.) The older masters were by no means neglected. Mozart's overture to the "Schauspiel-direktor"⁹ and

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, March 7, 1829.

² *Ibid.*, March 7, 1829. Cook was an oboe player, and was the first student at the Royal Academy of Music.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1830.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1830.

⁵ *Ibid.* See also March 6, 1830. Madame or Mdlle. Blasis was Pasta's successor as *prima donna* at Paris.

⁶ *Ibid.*, May 14, 1825. This was probably J. A. Longhurst, who was to have sung in Weber's "Oberon." See Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians," vol. ii. p. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1821; Oct. 23, 1824; Nov. 27, 1830; Nov. 16, 1833.

⁸ *Ibid.*, February 7, 1829.

⁹ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1821.

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“Jupiter”¹ Symphony, Graun’s “Te Deum,”² Gluck’s overture to “Iphigenia,”³ and Beethoven’s overture to “Egmont,”⁴ all appear amongst the announcements of concerts, and, if we had the programmes, this list could be doubtless enlarged. The programmes of the benefit concerts which, as already observed, increased greatly in importance during this period, furnish considerable additions to this list. Rossini is represented by his overtures to “La Gazza Ladra,”⁵ “Tancredi,”⁶ and “Wilhelm Tell”;⁷ Cherubini contributes that to “Anacreon”;⁸ Weber that to “Oberon”;⁹ Auber that to “Gustavus III.”;¹⁰ Herold that to “Zampa”;¹¹ and Romberg that to “Scipio.”¹² The older masters are represented in these programmes by a Handel Concerto,¹³ Haydn’s “Military Symphony,”¹⁴ and Mozart’s “Zauberflöte” overture.¹⁵ Chamber Music was not omitted, for a quintett by Boccherini,¹⁶ and quartetts by Haydn and Mozart,¹⁷ the latter

¹ Jackson’s *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 7, 1829.

² *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1821.

⁴ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1830.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1824.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1829.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1834.

¹² *Ibid.*, March 14, 1829.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1829.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1830.

³ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1830.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 28, 1824.

⁷ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1832.

⁹ *Ibid.*, March 14, 1829.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1834.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1829.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1829.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1832; Nov. 26, 1825.

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at a benefit concert, appear in the programmes. The standard of the music was kept up to the very end; at the last concert given by the stewards, Beethoven's "Adelaide" was in the programme.¹

The bulk of the library of the Society was removed at some time subsequent to its dissolution to Magdalen Hall, and, on the death of Dr. Michell in 1877, was sold by his executors.²

The Rev. Baldwin Hammond, now of Harrow-on-the-Hill, who took his degree from Magdalen Hall in 1862, states that during his undergraduate career he was employed by Mr. Michell to make a catalogue of this music, which was then stored in the basement of what is now Hertford College, at the north-western corner of the building. He describes it as being an enormous mass of music, and thinks that it had then been there for many years.

The management of the concerts at the Encænia, which remained in the hands of the stewards of the Music Room during this period, and even after the Music Room itself had passed out of their control, continued a most important part of their work. Sometimes these concerts were little more than a somewhat amplified specimen of the ordinary

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Feb. 13, 1836.

² Information given by the late Mr. T. W. Taphouse.

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concerts, and were held in the Music Room.¹ Sometimes, if an exceptional attraction was offered, the Town Hall was utilised.² Sometimes the Sheldonian Theatre was the scene of their performances, which then assumed the dimensions of a musical festival.³ The proceeds seem to have been variously distributed. In 1825 we are told that they were to be devoted "as usual" to the benefit of the Music Room Fund,⁴ but sometimes they were given to charitable objects, *e.g.* in 1827 the Radcliffe Infirmary and the (Warneford) Lunatic Asylum each received £50.⁵ Perhaps the simplest way of giving some notion of what was done is to give the principal points of interest, whether as regards music or performers, under the several years. Performances in the Sheldonian Theatre are marked with an (*a*), and those at the Town Hall with a (*b*). When neither of these marks occur, the Concerts were held in the Music Room.

(*a*) 1820. Selections from "Saul" and "Judas Maccabæus," Coronation Anthems, Part of Graun's "Te Deum," "Jupiter" Symphony, Overture to

¹ *e.g.* in 1824.

² *e.g.* for Mademoiselle Sontag, in 1828.

³ *e.g.* in 1831.

⁴ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Dec. 11, 1824; May 14, 1825.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 21, 1827.

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"Anacreon," "Palestine."¹ All conducted by Crotch. Dr. Hague, the Cambridge Professor of Music, played in the band.

1821. Overture to "Il Turco in Italia" (New). Miss M. Tree, Bellamy, and Hawes sang.
1822. Caradori and Sapio sang.
- (a) 1823. Selections from "Palestine," "The Seasons," and Mozart's "Requiem," Attwood's Coronation Anthem. Vicary conducted. Miss Stephens, and Messrs. Vaughan and Bellamy (amongst others) sang. Cramer led a fine orchestra, which included Lindley, Ashley, the Brothers Petrides, and Harper.
1824. Miss Stephens and Sapio sang, Harper and De Costeney (flautist from Dresden) played.
1825. Miss Stephens, Sapio, and Phillips sang. Nicholson and Schunke (horn) played.
1826. Madame Pasta and Sapio sang. Willmann (clarionettist) and Master Thalberg played.

¹ "We cannot quit this subject without expressing our hope that this charming composition may no longer be withheld from the public" (Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, June 17, 1820).

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- (a) 1827. Madame Pasta ("unrivalled now Catalani is absent, and second only to her"), Miss Stephens, Madame Caradori-Allan and Mrs. W. Knyvett (Miss Travis) sang, and De Beriot played. Crotch conducted, F. Cramer led. "Palestine" was performed.
- (b) 1828. Mademoiselle Sontag ("her first appearance out of London") and Signor de Begnis sang, and Willmann (clarionet) and Pixis (P. F.) played.
1829. Madame Stockhausen and Braham sang. Stockhausen (harp), Lindley, Willmann, and Harper played. Steibelt's Fantasia for Harp and Orchestra was performed.
1830. Madame Stockhausen, De Begnis, and Stockhausen performed.
- (a) 1831. Madame Pasta, Madame Caradori-Allan, Mrs. Knyvett, Braham, Knyvett, E. Taylor, Phillips, and De Begnis sang. Nearly all of Spohr's "Last Judgment," Beethoven's Symphony in C, and some of Neukomm's compositions performed. Crotch and Neukomm, in his own compositions, conducted.

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1832. Mr. and Mrs. Knyvett, Miss Inverarity, and Mr. Phillips sang. Jomelli's "Overture with Chacone" was performed.
- (b) 1833. Malibran was to have sung, but was prevented. Mrs. Bishop and Tamburini sang. De Beriot played.
- (a) 1834. Madame Caradori-Allan, Mrs. Knyvett, Madame Stockhausen, Braham, Knyvett, Vaughan, Machin, and Phillips sang. Cramer led; Crotch conducted. "The Captivity of Judah," Chorus from Weber's "Euryanthe," Overture to Beethoven's "Fidelio," selections from "Acis and Galatea," and Mendelssohn's Overture to the "Midsummer Night's Dream," were performed.
- (b) 1835. Madame Malibran and Madame Garcia and Phillips sang. De Beriot played.
- (b) 1836. Madame Grisi and Miss Clara Novello sang. Conducted by Mr. Novello. A Mozart Symphony, an Overture by Romberg, and Haydn's seventh Symphony, a scena by Costa, and songs from

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“I Puritani” and “Norma” performed.

(b) 1837. Madame Schroeder-Devrient, Miss Clara Novello (“her last appearance in Oxford before leaving England”), and Lablache sang. Ole Bull played. Mr. Bishop conducted.

1838. No concerts, owing to Coronation.

(a) 1839. Two miscellaneous concerts. Madame Persiani, Madame Albertazzi, Mrs. Knyvett, Miss M. B. Hawes, Miss Birch, Signor Ivanoff, Signor Tamburini, Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Philipps, sang. Herr David, Mr. Lindley, &c., played. Mr. Cramer led, and Mr. Bishop conducted. (1) Selections from the “Messiah,” “Redemption,” Mozart’s “Davide Penitente,” “Jephtha,” “Creation,” “Palestine,” (2) “Il Barbiere di Seviglia,” and Overture to “Guillaume Tell,” were performed.

1840. No concerts at Commemoration.

1841. No concerts.

1842. No concerts.

1843. No concerts.

(a) 1844. “Messiah.” Two miscellaneous concerts. Bishop conducted.



SIR HENRY BISHOP

From a vignette portrait in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

The End of the Music Room

A few words may be added as to the history of the fabric after the time at which it ceased to retain any definite connection with the art of music, except its name. When the stewards' tenancy ceased in 1840, it was taken by an upholsterer and auctioneer, named W. A. Dicks, who used it for auctions and let it for exhibitions, concerts, and the like.¹ One of the earliest occasions on which it was thus let was for the performance of G. J. Elvey's Exercise for D. Mus. on June 27, 1840.² This, "in the absence of the Professor of Music," was conducted by S. Elvey. The next year a performing Horse and Vixen were on view at the Music Room,³ and it was used for the exhibition of pictures by Dubufe.⁴ In this or the following year new seats were introduced, and the building was lighted by gas,⁵ leading to the sale of the "Massive Glass Suspension Chandelier, with twelve handsome brass oil-lamps, lustres, &c., complete, with 12 feet of chain."⁶ Dicks also claimed to have largely increased the seating accommodation of the Hall,⁷ and among those artists who performed in the Room about this time are to be found

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, May 9, 1840; April 1, 1843.

² *Ibid.*, July 4, 1840.

³ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1841.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 20 and Dec. 11, 1841.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1842; Jan. 22, 1842.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1842.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 7, 1843.

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Miss S. Novello, Madame F. Lablache, Miss Dolby, Miss Clara Novello, Miss Lockey, Signor Rubini, Braham, Templeton, Mr. C. Lockey, Madame Dulcken (pianiste to the Queen), and W. Cramer.¹

In 1844 Charles Kemble gave readings from Shakespeare in the Room,² and lectures and entertainments of various kinds were given there, till, in 1845, the Oxford Architectural Society took the Room and furnished it as a Museum. Dicks continued to live there, and became the Society's clerk. They remained there till March 25, 1860, and in this period the liberality of Mr. Parker supplied the skylight over the passage leading to the Room from the street. In 1860, finding the premises too expensive, the Society removed their belongings to the Old Ashmolean Museum in Broad Street. The only connection of the building with music during this period of fifteen years seems to be that the Motett and Madrigal Society were permitted to use it on payment of £15 rent and a proportion of expenses.³

¹ Jackson's *Oxford Journal*, Nov. 21, 1840; April 23, 1842; April 29, 1843; Oct. 14, 1843; Nov. 11, 1843; Oct. 26, 1844. Schubert's song, "Thine is my heart," makes an early appearance in England on Feb. 1, 1842.

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 26, 1844.

³ See Reports of the Architectural Society, Michaelmas term, 1845, pp. 52 and 53; 1851-53, p. 5; 1856-59, p. 70; 1847, p. 43, and the Accounts published in 1848 and 1849.



CLARA NOVELLO

From a lithographic portrait in the collection of Mr. A. M. Broadley

The End of the Music Room

What happened to the Room after 1860 seems quite uncertain, and for ten years or more its history is a blank. Probably it was let for various purposes. A society called the University Amateur Musical Society seems to have held its concerts in it, from about 1825 to about 1865, when, according to one account, it was merged in the Oxford Philharmonic Society. Some of their minutes, music, &c., were found in the building in 1901. It was for this Society that the late Sir Frederick A. Gore Ouseley wrote his glee "Sweet Echo," and the presentation copy was found during the alterations made in the Music Room in 1894. The whole history of this Society would be most interesting, but the writer has entirely failed to obtain definite information about it. When he was an undergraduate (1872-75), the chief use of the Room, so far as music was concerned, consisted in the weekly rehearsals of the Oxford Philharmonic Society and the Oxford Choral Society, to which were added in 1886 those of the Oxford University Madrigal Society. These three Societies were amalgamated at the instance of Sir John Stainer in the winter of 1889-90, and the combined societies continued their practices in the room for several years. But the alterations made in the room in 1894 greatly impaired its

The Oldest Music Room in Europe suitability for such purposes, rehearsals in it were abandoned in 1900, and the building erected with such lofty ideals was in a fair way to become an auction sale-room. At last it was restored to its proper function. In 1901 the Oxford University Musical Union obtained a lease of the building and thoroughly re-fitted and re-decorated it, making it the handsome room that it is at the present time, and now, as a century and a half ago, there is again a music meeting held once a week, and the music is selected by "the Steward of the night."¹

¹ See pp. 30, 47, 48 above.

Appendix

The following Air, see p. 95, is to be found in a MS. in the Bodleian Library (MS. Top. Oxon. E. 48, p. 26).

Air sung by TWEEDLEDUM in the new Interlude.

Sym. con furia.

Shall a Thrummer, a Scrapper, a

Appendix

man of brown paper, dare thus to our teeth to be - lye us.

Shall the Or - gan submit to the Bag-pipe and Kit, swear

[Page 27.]

Organo ad libit.

louder, swear louder, To - bias, swear louder, swear louder, To -

bi - as, swear louder, swear louder, To - bi-as, swear

lou - - - - - der, swear louder, swear louder, To -

Tasto Solo Organo.

Appendix

bi - as.

The first system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. It begins with a vocal line: a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, a quarter note B-flat4, and a quarter note G4. This is followed by a piano accompaniment of sixteenth-note chords. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, providing a bass line of quarter notes.

The second system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature, containing sixteenth-note chords. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, containing a bass line of quarter notes.

The third system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature, containing sixteenth-note chords. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, containing a bass line of quarter notes.

The fourth system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature, containing sixteenth-note chords. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, containing a bass line of quarter notes.

The fifth system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature, containing sixteenth-note chords. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, containing a bass line of quarter notes. The system concludes with a double bar line.

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